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ARTHUR PUE GORMAN



Memorial Addresses

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 1, 1907

AND IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 2, 1907

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Signed by

Mrs E. V. Bern

Washington D.C.





ARTHUR PUE GORMAN

Late a Senator from Maryland

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES



Fifty-ninth Congress
Second Session

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
February 1, 1907

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
February 2, 1907

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DEATH OF SENATOR ARTHUR P. GORMAN

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

MONDAY, *June 4, 1906.*

Rev. Ulysses G. B. Pierce, of the city of Washington, offered the following prayer:

We come into Thy presence, our Father, with hearts veiled with sorrow. But it is not as if Thy love were taken from us or Thy power had failed, for we are still Thy children, Thou still our Father.

Renew our days as of old. Cause the light of Thy countenance to shine upon us. Let Thy grace strengthen us, and through the cloud lead us into the light that never was on land or sea. So, our Father, wilt thou turn our mourning into joy and our tears into thanksgiving. Amen.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President, in the absence of the surviving Senator from Maryland, it becomes my painful duty to announce the death of Senator GORMAN. The end which awaits us all found him this morning. At his residence in this city, surrounded by his stricken family, he passed from the strife and bitterness of this world to the peace and rest of a better one.

I would ask the Senate to honor his long and faithful service as a member of this body by holding a public funeral in the Senate Chamber except for the fact that he has left instruction that his burial shall be a simple one. In obedience to his

wishes, I forbear to make any request further than to ask the adoption of the resolutions which I send to the desk.

At some later time Senator Rayner, who learned of Senator GORMAN'S death when it was too late for him to reach the Chamber for this morning's session, will ask us to set apart a day upon which the Senate will pay a fitting tribute to the memory and services of our deceased associate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the resolutions submitted by the Senator from Texas.

The Secretary read the resolutions, as follows.

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. ARTHUR PUL GORMAN, late a Senator from the State of Maryland.

Resolved, That a committee of seventeen Senators be appointed by the Vice-President to take order for superintending the funeral of Mr. GORMAN, which will take place at his late residence, Thursday, June 7, at 11 o'clock, and that the Senate will attend the same.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect that his remains be removed from his late home to the place of interment in Oak Hill Cemetery for burial, in charge of the Sergeant-at-Arms, attended by the committee, who shall have full power to carry these resolutions into effect; and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolutions read by the Secretary.

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

The VICE-PRESIDENT appointed as the committee, under the second resolution, Mr. Rayner, Mr. Allison, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Hale, Mr. Aldrich, Mr. Teller, Mr. Gallinger, Mr. Elkins, Mr. Martin, Mr. Tillman, Mr. Clay, Mr. Spooner, Mr. Kean, Mr. Bailey, Mr. Blackburn, Mr. Clark of Montana, and Mr. Overman.

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. President, as a mark of further respect to the memory of Senator GORMAN, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, June 5, 1906, at 12 o'clock meridian.

TUESDAY, *June 5, 1906.*

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. Browning, its Chief Clerk, transmitted to the Senate the resolutions of the House on the death of Hon. ARTHUR PUE GORMAN, late a Senator from the State of Maryland.

The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had appointed Mr. J. Fred C. Talbott, Mr. John Gill, jr.; Mr. Thomas A. Smith, of Maryland; Mr. Sydney E. Mudd, Mr. Frank C. Wachter, Mr. George A. Pearre, Mr. John S. Williams, Mr. Leonidas F. Livingston, Mr. Thomas B. Davis, of West Virginia; Mr. Samuel M. Robertson, Mr. John A. Moon, of Tennessee; Mr. John H. Stephens, of Texas; Mr. C. L. Bartlett, Mr. J. W. Babcock, Mr. Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio; Mr. James M. Griggs, and Mr. John F. Rixey, members of the committee on the part of the House to attend the funeral.

WEDNESDAY, *June 6, 1906.*

MR. HALE. Mr. President, in view of the funeral of the late Senator from Maryland to-morrow, I move that when the Senate adjourns to-day it be to meet at 2 o'clock to-morrow.

The motion was agreed to.

THURSDAY, *June 7, 1906.*

The Senate met at 2 o'clock p. m.

Rev. Ulysses G. B. Pierce, of the city of Washington, offered the following prayer:

From the house of sorrow, our Father, we come to the house of labor. So doth Thou lead us from the things to be borne to the things to be done. And as Thou hast given us Thy grace

humbly to bow before Thy good providence, so we beseech Thee vouchsafe unto us Thy strength, that we may steadfastly lay hold of Thy purposes till Thy kingdom shall come and Thy will be done on earth, even as it is in heaven. Amen.

THURSDAY, *January 3, 1907.*

MR. RAYNER. Mr. President, I desire to give notice that on Saturday, January 26, 1907, immediately after the routine morning business, I shall ask the Senate to consider resolutions in commemoration of the life, character, and public services of my late colleague, HON. ARTHUR PUE GORMAN.

FRIDAY, *January 25, 1907.*

MR. RAYNER. Mr. President, I desire to give notice that on next Friday, February 1, at half past 2 o'clock, I will submit resolutions commemorative of the public services of the late Senator GORMAN. The services were to have taken place tomorrow, but have been unavoidably postponed.

FRIDAY, *February 1, 1907.*

MR. RAYNER. Mr. President, I submit the resolutions which I send to the desk, and ask for their adoption.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the resolutions.

The resolutions were read, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of HON. ARTHUR PUE GORMAN, late a Senator from the State of Maryland

Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the business of the Senate be now suspended to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished public services.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

ADDRESS OF MR. RAYNER, OF MARYLAND

MR. PRESIDENT: This is one of the many recurring occasions upon which this body is called together to pay tribute to the memory of its departed members. It is proper that these proceedings should take place because it seems to me that the dead are so soon forgotten now beyond the immediate circle that surrounds them, that it is well in cases where men in public life have been of service to their country that there should be some public reminder and memorial of their deeds. Senator GORMAN was for a long time a distinguished figure here. He was, during the greater part of his political career, the recognized leader of the Democratic party in his State, and for some years its leader in the Nation, and it is entirely within the bounds to say that during all this time he exercised a commanding influence in the councils of his party, and by virtue of his long experience and sagacity occupied a most prominent position amongst its foremost men. He possessed to a remarkable degree the qualifications of political leadership.

The question is often asked, What are the constituent elements that constitute these qualifications? This is a difficult question to answer. Political leaders in a great degree resemble all other leaders in the various walks of war and peace—in the professions, in literature, and in the ranks of commercial enterprise and business activity. They are born, not made. A man.

if he has the talent for this vocation, may cultivate and develop it, but I have never believed that he could create it. It is a peculiar gift that is made up of so many parts that the absence of any one of them would fail to produce the whole. The entire combination in its natural and delicate proportions must exist in order to bring about the effect that is known as leadership. It is a power of mind and singularity of temperament united.

Senator GORMAN, at an early age, appeared upon the political arena and he received his training from the masters of the art. His preceptors were the formidable chieftains of the earlier days who formulated great political principles and pioneered the way through the wilderness often without any guide or compass to direct them upon their journey. Party lines were then closely drawn, and the first lesson that Senator GORMAN learned was the lesson of discipline. He carried it through life with him. It is very difficult for anyone to erase impressions that have thus been stamped upon him, and the instructions that we receive and the opinions we form and the convictions we acquire as our intellectual faculties are being developed, as a rule, become indelible in our maturer years.

Our political sentiments are generally bequeathed to us, and even our religious faith comes to us from the remotest ancestry. In our beliefs, as well as in our habits, we are often the subjects of a fate as unbending and inexorable as the laws of nature. Senator GORMAN was trained in a school in which party loyalty was the alphabet and the curriculum and the test and passport for honor and promotion. He was naturally a man of positive purpose and of remarkable power of will, but he always believed in the doctrine that the party was greater than the individual, and if there was a difference of opinion it was the duty of the individual to surrender and sacrifice his own views at the altars of his party loyalty and allegiance. At the time when he first

became prominently active in party affairs, all the great political leaders were imbued with these ideas and had been the disciples of that school. At present the political tide has changed and there is a vast body of independent voters in this country who fluctuate according to the men and measures that are presented to their suffrages.

Citizens with these proclivities work to a greater advantage in State and municipal politics than they do in national controversies, and we must all admit that their influence has been productive of the greatest good in the various communities in which they appear. One thing is certain, however, and that is, in time of heated party conflict a party to succeed must have discipline, organization, and leadership, and it was in the heat of party conflict that Senator GORMAN exhibited his talents and accomplishments. When others became disconcerted he preserved his equanimity, and by his unruffled demeanor and his undisturbed self-possession infused courage and confidence among his followers, and at times when defeat seemed imminent and his supporters were discouraged and dismayed and his hosts were trembling, his gift of leadership appeared to the best advantage. He may have felt doubtful about the result; he may have clearly perceived that there was danger threatening, but if these thoughts occupied his mind, he never betrayed them, and he never disclosed them, even to those who were most intimately associated with him in the management of party affairs.

If I could properly summarize what political leadership meant in his case, I would speak of it as follows: It meant the power to analyze the situation and not to be deceived by misleading appearances, and the faculty of discerning the true condition of public opinion. It carried with it necessarily a degree of personal magnetism that often turned his bitterest enemies into his

warmest friends. It meant courage and judgment at critical periods and in the hour of emergency, and, what is greater than all, it meant what I call, for the want of a better name, the genius of organization. This genius of organization is an endowment and not an acquirement. Some men of great force and intellect possess it, while with others similarly equipped it is entirely wanting. It is the power and the instrument of system and of method. The man who wields this weapon must be a man of purpose, of reserve, and of equilibrium. Senator GORMAN possessed all these attributes. It requires a thorough insight into human nature. It is the peculiar skill of accomplishing those things that are demanded by circumstances and the tact to make the best use of opportunities and occasions as they present themselves. It demands a fixed purpose and a steady nerve and a resourceful mind, and then, above all these things, comes the ability to instill into your subordinates the inspiration of your example and to infuse into the masses to whom you look for results the zeal and enthusiasm that are the accompaniments of success.

Of course a man who has occupied, like Senator GORMAN, a position of this sort is bound to create hostility. Like everyone else similarly situated he had hosts of friends and hosts of enemies. There is one thing remarkable about his career, however, and that is he had few, if any, personal enemies. The elements that were inimical to him entertained no unfriendly feeling toward him personally.

As a rule every political leader is surrounded by a retinue of friends who follow him in order to participate with him in his victories and often desert and betray him when disaster overtakes him. Senator GORMAN's situation was peculiar in this respect. He had made friends who were as loyal to him when his fortunes wavered as they were in the hour of his

greatest triumph. At one of the largest political meetings held in our State during the last Congressional canvass the mention of his name elicited as much applause from the ranks of the party as if his living figure had stood before the assemblage. He always believed in the precept, "The friends thou hast and their adoption tried, grapple them to thy soul with hooks of steel."

His force was that of attraction and not of repulsion. Without being demonstrative, his bearing was at all times genial, his carriage and intercourse with his fellow-men were without the slightest pomp or pageantry, and he was always accessible to the humblest one of his constituents. He never sat in state, and he gathered no delight whatever from display or ostentation. He had too much wisdom for pride or vanity or exaltation. Vanity is generally the attribute of weak minds and of persons who glide along the surface—those who are thoughtful and profound are as a rule humble and lowly. Some one said of Francis Bacon that he was fraught with all the learning of the past and almost prescient of the future, but too wise not to know his weakness and too philosophic not to feel his ignorance.

Mr. GORMAN was devoted to his work in the Senate. He had dedicated to it the best years and energies of his life and had thoroughly understood and mastered it. Senators who served with him upon committees here will bear testimony to his faithful attention to the duties that devolved upon him, his untiring industry, his assiduous consideration of every practical problem that was submitted to him, his capacity for constructive legislation, the analytical methods that he pursued in his work, and the experience that he brought to play in dealing with important questions of governmental expenditures, and his faculty of summarizing propositions upon this floor in a manner that made them easily comprehended.

When we think of it, his career was a remarkable one. He had risen from an humble position in this body to the highest and most commanding station. It was not the extraneous influence of good fortune that had visited upon him the successive preferments that he received, nor did he claim the advantage of a great ancestral line from whom he might have derived the heritage of honor and fame. He advanced from place to place, first in the general assembly, then to the leadership of the party organization in his State, then to the Senate here, and his leadership of his party, and then to the command of his party forces in the country, simply because he possessed the power and the qualifications that entitled him to these distinctions. These places were not gifts to him, nor awarded to him because of any seniority of service in ranks of his party, nor in accordance with any rule, custom, or usage, but because it was discerned by those who knew him best and were fully capable of judging of his merits that he had the natural qualifications to successfully perform these important functions, and in his palmy days he never disappointed his followers and never fell below the expectations that were entertained of him.

If I were asked to select the most important service that our lamented friend rendered to his party beyond these halls I would refer to the part he took in the election of Mr. Cleveland for President. His tireless and incessant work upon this occasion will be long remembered—that is to say, it should be remembered. I do not believe that at a time of this sort it is proper to indulge in undue adulation of those whose memory we are honoring or to bestow exaggerated praise above what merit calls for, and I am sure that Senator GORMAN, if he were living, would not appreciate any laudatory statements of any services that he had ever performed, either for his party or his country, that he was not fully entitled to. I will, therefore,

not say that his efforts elected Mr. Cleveland to the Presidency, but I will, without hesitation, say that he did more than any other single individual toward the consummation of that victory. He was an untiring worker when he applied himself to the accomplishment of any purpose that he had in view—covering every detail of the programme before him and not overlooking the slightest minutiae that could be of any advantage to him whatever.

In this contest he had before him a political geography of the United States, with all of its territory and environment. He studied every State, city, and district where there was a hope of Democratic success. He kept in constant view every stronghold of his own party and every weak and unprotected point in the fortifications of the enemy. He permitted no spot to escape him where it was possible to make an inroad upon the possessions of the foe. He brought himself into personal contact with all the party leaders all over the land. He dismissed from his consideration every place where success was impossible and effected a thorough organization in all places where there was a hope of victory. It was an enormous work of immense proportions, and the result demonstrated that in its prosecution and its triumphant termination he simply out-generated the chieftains of the Republican party, and working at a disadvantage against them overcame them by the craft and skill of his political leadership. Of course, the Democratic hosts were with him, and the independent vote of the country was really the balance of power that decided the contest, but beyond it all was a thorough and perfect organization, disciplined and marshaled by Senator GORMAN.

If I were asked to name the most valuable service that he rendered to his party—and I believe to the country—in the Senate, I would immediately select his memorable work in

connection with the defeat of the measure known as the force bill in the Fifty-first Congress. I think the Republican Senators upon this floor have long ago arrived at the conclusion that the passage of this bill would have been detrimental to the best interests of the people. Whatever differences of opinion existed at the time in connection therewith when party spirit ran high, it is my judgment now that the result of the great struggle has been accepted as final by the intelligence and patriotism of the Republican party. At the time, however, it was as fierce a conflict as ever engaged the attention of the country, and with the fate of the enactment trembling in the balance during many months there was a period of great excitement, and party sentiment was aroused to an intense degree, and into this conflict Senator GORMAN threw himself with an earnestness of purpose that can never be forgotten.

He was the leader of his party in that contest, and if it had not been for his devotion to the cause he was championing, for his parliamentary skill in the resourceful attacks which he made when defeat seemed certain, and for the restless labor he underwent throughout the wearisome days of that momentous period, we might to-day, instead of having the South united in the interest of the Union and pervaded by a spirit of patriotism as earnest and as ardent as any that throbs in the heart of any other section of this country, have every one of her Commonwealths submerged in ruin and disaster, with their spirits broken, their enterprise retarded, and their entire territory, with the glorious progress that awaits it, converted into a desolated and subjugated political province.

I desire to refer now to one of the qualities of his private life which deserves mention. I have been informed by friends of Senator GORMAN, who were upon terms of the closest intimacy with him, that, while he did not indulge in any ostentatious

acts of philanthropy, he was constantly engaged in acts of private benevolence and charity, and that any appeal of poverty or of suffering always awakened his tenderest sympathy and his ready response. This is the heart and essence of true religion. When the time arrives for us to take a final reckoning with our life and balance the account, deeds like this are of more priceless value than all the accomplishments of ambition and all the achievements of fortune and fame, and all the possessions of power and of worldly glory and renown.

For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight;
His can't be wrong whose life is in the right.

I come now briefly to another phase of Senator GORMAN's life which I shall pass over tenderly, because I think it is too sacred for intrusion, even upon an occasion of this sort. The best impulses of his heart seemed to radiate around the glare of his fireside and the circle of his family. His happiest and most contented hours were passed among those to whom he was bound by the bonds of affection and for whose comfort and well-being he was at all times prepared to make any sacrifice invoked by love or duty. He found but slight amusement and took only a passing interest in the pleasures of the world, and he centered his deepest devotion upon the altar of his home, and his fondest hopes clustered around those who looked to him for aid and for counsel as they grew to manhood and womanhood under his fostering care.

I believe that if Senator GORMAN at any time would have been required to have taken his choice between the accomplishment of his own ambition and his duty to those dependent upon him he would not have hesitated a moment in making the election. As full of ambition as he was, he would have abandoned the worship of its idols for the idols

of his household. Our home is really the holiest spot on earth. It is the oasis in the trackless desert and the fountain amidst the parched and thirsty longings for restless power and aspirations unattained. As years go by the fleeting phantoms of political honor recede from view and we gladly retrace our steps to the temple we have reared—our own architecture—so that we may strengthen its pillars and rear its spires toward the sky.

There is no word or phrase in any language, dead or living, that I know of that carries with it the full significance of the English word "home." It is not capable of translation, or even of definition or interpretation, and I hope, therefore, that the day will never come when any iconoclast will change the orthography of that Anglo-Saxon term and destroy the memories and imagery that cluster around its meaning.

And now his pilgrimage is ended and he is in his eternal home, where the mystery is unfolded—a mystery that neither philosophy nor science has ever solved. We have unbosomed the secrets of the earth and exposed the cycles of geologic time and gazed into revolving planets, but we stand aghast and dumb at the problem of man's creation. We can explain from a natural standpoint almost everything except the most vital of them all, and that is the problem of our existence. Upon this subject we can gather as much information from the unlettered savage as we can from the profoundest thought that ever dawned upon the earth. The most learned scientist of the present age has written a volume entitled "The Riddle of the Universe," in which he has essayed modestly to solve the riddle, and the last page of this remarkable production leaves us absolutely forlorn, comfortless, and deserted, the human heart without an aspiration, and the universe an utter scene of desolation.

The German philosopher, Goethe, the profoundest student of his age, when one of his companions was communicating to him his doubts upon the authenticity of revealed religion, said, "My friend, give me some faith—I have sufficient doubts of my own without requiring them to be supplemented." The cynic, Rabelais, exclaimed, "Ring down the curtain; the farce is done." Spinoza, the outlaw of the synagogue and the greatest of them all, stood like a solitary sentinel upon the confines of the universe in communion with his Creator and constructed a system which has made him the idol of the philosophical world.

Mr. President, I have pored for years over this cheerless desire of human thought, and while I am a firm believer in the absolute liberty of thought, I can say, what has been well said upon another occasion, that my warm love of genuine liberty has never chilled me into rebellion with its author, and so I believe it was with our departed friend.

That is the impression he left on me upon the last occasion when I met him. I questioned him then in regard to his health and, while I had the gloomiest forebodings of the mortal malady that seemed to encompass him within its grasp, I was extremely careful not to communicate my thoughts, or to give him the slightest evidence of my feelings in that regard. He was a man of courage, and when he informed me that his physician had admonished him that his heart was seriously and perhaps fatally involved, one of the most beautiful of all poetic thoughts came speedily to my mind, because it was so appropriate to the occasion, that:

Our hearts though stout and brave,
Still like muffled drums are beating
Funeral marches to the grave.

I am told that he met death as he had passed through many critical vicissitudes of his active and remarkable career, with

composure, with resignation, with fortitude, and with hope. The chamber of death always presents a scene of sorrow and often of despair, but penetrating the gloom there is a conviction more potent than all the processes of reasoning, that this can not be a finality in Creation's work, and that the soul can not perish when the chords and keys that gave it utterance are broken. Reason as we will, this belief, as the years go by, becomes a sacred and a divine inspiration, an inspiration that grows stronger and stronger as the frail tenement that contains it weakens and dissolves until, at the very moment of dissolution, in every life consecrated to some sublime and lofty purpose, it blazes forth and penetrates into distant realms with all the radiance of the morning sun.

ADDRESS OF MR. ALDRICH, OF RHODE ISLAND

MR. PRESIDENT: MR. GORMAN was a member of the Senate for twenty-one years, and for a greater portion of this time he was the acknowledged and responsible leader of his party in this Chamber. Nature made him a leader of men. This was shown not only by the character of his influence and services here, but by his absolute domination for a generation of the acts and policies of his party in Maryland and by the conspicuous position which he long held in national Democratic councils. His successful management of the campaign of 1884, which resulted in the election of a Democratic President for the first time in twenty-eight years, gave him his first prominence as a commanding figure in national politics. In each successive campaign thereafter he was the trusted adviser alike of candidates and committees. He was three times prominently mentioned as a possible nominee for the Presidency, and many of his friends believe that if it had not been for the disadvantage of locality he would have received his party's indorsement for this high honor.

This record of successful political leadership in many fields has hardly a parallel in the history of the country. MR. GORMAN's supremacy in this respect never surprised those who knew him best—those who had the most thorough understanding and appreciation of his qualities of mind and heart. He was wise, skillful, and resourceful, and his genial presence and magnetic personality at once inspired confidence and secured allegiance.

In the notable contests which have taken place on this floor over great questions of public policy, when party advantage was earnestly sought by the contestants, MR. GORMAN appeared

at his best. Cool and collected, he seemed always to know instinctively and at once the strength and weakness of his own position and that of his antagonists. In debate on such occasions he did not seek for rhetorical effect, but contented himself with stating his propositions clearly and concisely and in a manner which was admirable in tone and convincing in effect.

The value and importance to the country, however, of Mr. GORMAN'S services here were as a practical legislator and not as a political leader. In legislation he did not confine his attention to subjects reported from the Committee on Appropriations, of which he was long a leading member, but he took a prominent part in the consideration and disposition of every important subject that came before the Senate during his term of service. He brought to the discussion of these questions a sound judgment and clear perception. In all really great questions involving the dignity or the welfare of the country he put patriotism above partisanship. In the everyday work of the Senate, when no great party interest was at stake, his differences with his associates were never along party lines. At such times his intelligent insight into and broad treatment of public questions commanded the approval alike of his Republican and Democratic colleagues.

No man ever had a seat in this Chamber who more jealously guarded the rights and prerogatives of the Senate or who had a higher admiration for its history and traditions than the late Senator from Maryland. Coming here as a page in 1852, very much the larger portion of his mature life was spent within these walls. He knew personally most of the great men who have been active in public life for half a century. Under such circumstances it is not strange that Senator GORMAN'S affection for the Senate should have been unusually deep and constant.

The rules and practices affecting debate and controlling the

disposition of business in the Senate are unique in their character and are largely observed and enforced by unanimous consent. In trying times these conditions require frequent conferences between those who hold responsible positions with reference to the work of the Senate on both sides of the Chamber. These consultations necessarily afford unusual opportunities for the study of personal characteristics. I believe that all of my Republican associates who have taken an active part in conferences in which Senator GORMAN appeared as the most important representative of his party will agree with me in placing a very high estimate upon the Senator's character as a man and as a legislator. His courtesy was unflinching, his knowledge of precedent unsurpassed, his agreements once made were kept with scrupulous fidelity, both in letter and in spirit. His wisdom, his moderation, his powers of persuasion have been invaluable in many a threatening emergency in the Senate.

My personal relations with Mr. GORMAN during all the years of our common service were of the most friendly character, although we rarely found ourselves in agreement upon questions which were purely political in their nature. His personality was very attractive to me, and I believe he was incapable of doing a mean or a dishonorable act. He was fearless in the advocacy of measures that met his approval, and in common with men with positive convictions and the courage to act upon them at times he was subjected to severe criticism on the part of those who failed to agree with him.

There was nothing of the timeserver or the demagogue in his nature. He served his country with ability and fidelity, and is fully entitled to be held in grateful memory by his fellow-countrymen.

ADDRESS OF MR. CLAY, OF GEORGIA

MR. PRESIDENT: In the death of Senator GORMAN one of the most remarkable men of our country has passed away. He had an extraordinary career, a career that challenged the admiration of the entire country. No public man was more universally beloved in the South than Senator GORMAN. He had been the steadfast friend of the people of the South in the hour of the darkest trial, and we trusted and loved him. Universal sorrow prevailed among our people when his death was announced. We knew we had lost a valuable and faithful friend. Mr. GORMAN took his seat in the Senate March 4, 1881, and served continuously for eighteen years. His party was defeated in Maryland in 1898, and he retired from the Senate March 3, 1899. He only remained in private life a short while. Two years later his party triumphed in Maryland, and he returned to the Senate for a fourth term, receiving practically the unanimous vote of his party. He received the congratulations of friends on both sides of the Chamber, for his colleagues, regardless of party, recognized the valuable services he had rendered his country.

I only had a casual acquaintance with Senator GORMAN before I became a member of the Senate. I was introduced to him by Mr. Crisp, who regarded Mr. GORMAN as one of the ablest men in public life. Mr. Crisp said to me that Senator GORMAN was a loyal friend, a wise counselor, and a safe leader. At that time the thought never occurred to me that I would some day be his colleague in this body.

Association with Mr. GORMAN demonstrated to me that Mr. Crisp had formed a correct judgment as to the worth of this great man. He was one of the noted men of the Senate.

He began as a page on the floor of the Senate and by the force of his own energy and talents he became the acknowledged leader of his party. His career illustrates the possibilities of American citizenship.

The story of his life, the success he achieved, the good he accomplished, will for all time be an inspiration to the young men of the country.

Almost for a quarter of a century his name was intimately associated with the legislative history of the country.

On the floor of the Senate he was an attractive figure; he never spoke to empty benches; his speeches were short, pointed, forcible, and convincing. He never talked unless he had something to say. He mastered his subject before he entered the arena of debate.

I became a member of the Senate in March, 1897, and consequently served with Senator GORMAN in the Senate only five years. During this time he frequently participated in the debates and was one of the most attractive speakers on the floor of the Senate.

The Congressional Record will show that during his entire Senatorial career he participated in the debates of the Senate on many subjects, including the tariff of 1883-1888 and 1890, 1893, and 1897; interstate commerce; Chinese immigration; the public printing; the Canadian fisheries; the building of the Navy; the Canadian and domestic transportation traffic; the Treasury surplus; and, in fact, nearly every question of importance that came before Congress.

When he spoke Senators from both sides of the Chamber would hasten to their seats, and he would invariably have a full and attentive audience with him, to stay until he had finished. No Senator spoke to larger audiences than did Senator GORMAN.

When we study his public life and appreciate the high order of his talents we can easily understand the influence he exerted over others. He was a man of convictions, sought diligently to form correct conclusions, and was thoroughly in earnest in debate. He convinced his hearers that he was right and easily carried them with him. He used no surplus words; he spoke briefly, but pointedly, and when he was through there was little to be said on his side of the subject.

The Democratic party has succeeded in only two national campaigns since the civil war. Grover Cleveland was elected President of the United States in 1884 and was the first Democratic President to take the reins of Government since Mr. Buchanan retired from the Presidential office.

So conspicuous and valuable was the part taken by Mr. GORMAN in the national campaign of 1884, it was but natural to expect that he would be a powerful factor in shaping the policy of the new Administration.

As chairman of the national executive committee, he was the guiding hand of that remarkable campaign. His party gave due credit to him and attributed the success achieved to his skillful and faultless management. Such public men as Manning, Bayard, Garland, and Lamar recognized that Mr. GORMAN's services in behalf of his party made him the proper person to lead the Administration forces on the floor of the Senate. In fact, the whole country knew that he was the guiding hand that had once more placed Democracy in power. Mr. GORMAN was the recipient of ovations wherever he went at the close of that campaign.

It is but just to say at this time that Mr. Cleveland appreciated the valuable services the Maryland Senator had rendered in securing his triumphant election, and he enjoyed the confidence and friendship of Mr. Cleveland during his first term in office.

He was a conspicuous factor in the campaign when Mr. Cleveland was elected the second time. In Mr. Cleveland's last Administration the public soon learned that Mr. GORMAN's influence had greatly suffered with the President. Due regard for the truth compels me to say that we have unmistakable evidence that the President would not listen to the advice and counsel of Mr. GORMAN during his last Administration. When the truth of history is written the embarrassments and subsequent overthrow of the Democratic party will be largely attributed to the want of party harmony.

Mr. GORMAN was entitled to the respect and confidence of the President; he had always been loyal, and had rendered conspicuous service to his party, and his counsel and advice were constantly needed to bring together and harmonize the different elements of the Democratic party to the support of the Administration. At that time there were many antagonistic elements in the party, and Mr. GORMAN possessed the happy faculty of adjusting differences and felt anxiety about the future harmony of his party. His counsel and advice, however, did not prevail, and disastrous results followed.

I have always believed that if the wise and conservative policy advocated by Mr. GORMAN had prevailed the different elements in the Democratic party could have been kept together and the party would have been greatly strengthened for future usefulness.

Mr. GORMAN recognized that two great political parties, each contesting for supremacy, were necessary for the preservation of our institutions. Two great political parties, evenly balanced debating great issues, scrutinizing closely the conduct of each other, insures to the people clean, honest, good government. The position of chairman of the minority conference in the Senate is one of honor and responsibility. The chairman pre-

sides over the minority conference and is a recognized leader of the minority.

MR. GORMAN was unanimously chosen for this position in 1889. I hold in my hand a clipping from a reputable newspaper, giving an account of his election and valuable services as a leader of the minority, including a statement of the brilliant and successful fight he made against the force bill, which I insert as part of my remarks.

I have been assured by his associates in this Chamber still living of the correctness of this statement of his connection with this parliamentary struggle.

I do not insert it to revive the unpleasant memories growing out of that contest, but to show the estimate placed upon the services of the distinguished dead in defeating this legislation.

The article inserted is as follows:

Upon the death of Mr. Beck, of Kentucky, in 1889, Mr. GORMAN was promptly and unanimously chosen for the position by his Democratic colleagues.

The accession of Mr. GORMAN to the post of active minority leadership was the more gladly hailed by Democratic Senators for the reason that, at the very time of his election, the odious "force bill," which was a source of so much anxiety and fearful apprehension on the part of the southern Democrats, had passed the House under Speaker Reed's dictatorship and was hanging like a cloud over the deliberations of the Senate, in which the Republicans had a clear majority of eleven votes. In this great emergency the Democratic minority placed especial reliance upon their resourceful leader, whose mettle had already been tried and whose skill as a parliamentarian was recognized on both sides of the Chamber.

The Republicans introduced two distinctive party measures into the Fifty-first Congress—the McKinley tariff bill and the Lodge election law, commonly known as the "force bill." Both had, at the start, the solid support of their party organization, and both were put through the House under the "Reed rules," at the first session, without the formality of debate or deliberate consideration. The McKinley bill also passed the Senate near the end of the first session, on September 10, 1890, after a protracted debate, in which Mr. GORMAN took an active and strongly antagonistic position. It passed by a strict party vote, having eleven majority. Its companion measure, the force bill, was allowed to go over to the second

session, because the Democrats threatened to fight it to the bitter end, and the Republicans were compelled to take a recess for the fall campaign.

When the second session came together, in December, 1890, the Republicans of the Senate received a renewed partisan impulse to stand together and drive it through as a party measure from two sources first, from the unfavorable trend shown by the fall elections, and, second, by a vigorous advocacy of its early passage in the message of President Harrison. Accordingly the measure was taken up on the first day of the session, all other things being put aside, and pressed with all the energy and parliamentary skill known to the skillful parliamentarians of the majority of the Senate. The McKinley bill had received eleven majority a few months earlier, and the advocates of the force bill calculated that its companion measure would have the same backing, if it could be brought to a vote. This was probably true.

Senator Hoar, one of the most accomplished parliamentarians of the Senate, was in charge of the bill, and he had for his active aids and constant coadjutors Mr. Aldrich, Mr. Edmunds, and all the most skillful lawyers and managers of the majority. Against this compact, aggressive, and determined force stood the solid Democratic strength of the Senate, resolved to fight to the bitter end. They were helpless in their weakness, if the question came to an early vote, and it looked to the whole country, and to many of the minority Senators themselves, that they were leading an utterly forlorn hope. Their only hope lay in their staving off a vote by a skillful use of the liberal rules of the Senate and of the general principles of parliamentary law, until a change in the sentiment of the country might break the solidity of the Republican column.

Thus was the alignment drawn for one of the greatest parliamentary battles ever known. The contest was an unequal one otherwise than in numbers, for although the Democratic minority possessed a fine array of oratorical and debating talent, the Republicans had the decided advantage in parliamentary experience and skill. The Democrats relied largely, in fact almost exclusively, in the matter of tactical skill upon their strong, vigilant, and well-balanced leader, or, as Senator Bayard had expressed it, "the quiet, self-sustaining, and self-sustained man whom Maryland has given to the Union." Mr. GORMAN was the equal in parliamentary and tactical skill of any man on the Republican side, and, as the result showed, the superior of them all.

The greatest inspiration of the minority during the seven long weeks of the bitter and exhausting struggle was the serene and perfect confidence of their leader, who never for a moment entertained the idea of defeat. This splendid spirit of confident aggressiveness was marked upon by all, and communicating itself to the whole minority added much to their esprit de corps. It also seemed to perplex and confound the majority and had its effect upon the observant country. Democratic Senators, interpreting the force bill as a measure designed for the reinstatement and per-

petuation of negro domination in the South, put their whole souls into the contest, and, realizing the necessity of perfect discipline to accomplish their ends, conceded much to the discretion and judgment of their appointed leader.

Rarely has a parliamentary leader been invested with such complete command as was Senator GORMAN during the memorable battle. Old employees of the Senate relate incidents of the leading and distinguished Southern Senators applying to the chairman of the minority conference to know if it was advisable for them to go down to the restaurant on the floor below for lunch, and reporting whenever they temporarily withdrew from the Chamber where they might be found in an emergency.

The first test of strength came on the first day of the session, December 3, 1890, on Mr. Hoar's motion to take up the bill for consideration, which was adopted by a vote of 41 to 30, showing the Republican party strength. Had the final vote been taken on that day the bill would undoubtedly have been passed by the same majority. The final test came on January 26, 1891, when Mr. Wolcott, of Colorado, asked Mr. Morgan to yield the floor in order that he might move to take up the bill making an apportionment of representation in Congress under the Eleventh Census, which motion was adopted by a vote of 35 to 34, thus displacing and finally disposing of the force bill.

During the intervening seven weeks the Democratic minority had held the floor constantly throughout the day and often through the night, when night sessions were forced. Every alternative known to parliamentary skill looking to the forcing of a vote on the bill was tried from time to time by the Republicans, but they were met at every turn and always baffled. Wearying of the effort to terminate the debate, the majority tried, as a last resort, to take a Senator off the floor for the purpose of adopting a *clôture* resolution, but the Vice-President failed them at the last moment of this revolutionary proceeding, weakening in his purpose before the well-directed fire of the minority. During the seven weeks of untiring vigilance Mr. GORMAN occupied the floor a considerable portion of the time himself and contributed much to the parliamentary feature of the debate. In the meantime the eyes of the country had been opened to the unfair and partisan character of the pending measure. The public sentiment of the country admired the splendid fight the Democrats had made against it and sympathized with the South against the proposed sectional discrimination. This sentiment communicated itself to the minds of the more liberal Senators, and the result was a change of the necessary votes to defeat the partisan measure.

Thus ended one of the most noted parliamentary battles on record, and the name of the Maryland Senator will go down on the pages of history intimately and honorably associated with it.

I doubt if any public man has rendered more valuable services to his party and country than Senator GORMAN during

the last quarter of a century. By reason of his conspicuous service, his eminent ability, and sterling integrity he was entitled to his party nomination for the office of the President of the United States. He had a strong following in many sections of the country for this high honor, but history teaches us that party service and party loyalty is not always appreciated and properly rewarded.

Neither Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Benton, nor Blaine ever reached the Presidency, but each has left an enduring fame not eclipsed by any occupant of the Presidential chair.

Mr. GORMAN would have made an admirable President. His career is closed, but was one of the most remarkable in the history of our country. The young men of the Republic can be taught to study his history, follow his counsel, and the world is better by reason of his public life. When we read the story of his life we are not surprised at the success he achieved. He was a self-made man; he began life without money. He came from a modest home, where love of neighbors and love of country was inculcated and where self-reliance was taught. In early life he knew the value of industry. He acted on the maxim that nothing was impossible to industry. He was kind, generous, unselfish, with a heart full of sympathy for humanity.

To my certain knowledge he helped the weak and lowly in their efforts to be strong. The good he accomplished will for all time be an inspiration for the young men of the country. They will read his history and follow in the footpaths blazed out by this illustrious son of the Republic.

The influence of the good never dies. I am sure that this generation and all generations to come will be better, stronger, wiser, and happier by reason of his life.

We teach our sons to study the characters of the great Roman

senators, to practice their virtues, and we are the recipients of untold blessings from those who have been dead for more than a thousand years.

I wish to give to his memory only just praise, for I am sure if he could have a voice as to the character of these exercises he would not countenance false praise.

While not a college graduate, he was a student, a hard worker, and kept thoroughly posted on the current business of the Senate. His conceptions were quick and remarkably accurate; his judgment was good of both men and measures. Few men have been found with such a rare combination of faculties and powers as he possessed. Though frequently most bitterly assailed, his entire public career was pure, honest, fearless, and patriotic.

All great men at some period in their career have been misunderstood, slandered, and maligned.

Washington, Jefferson, Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Jackson, and Blaine were the subjects of most bitter attacks, but history has done each justice. Passion and prejudice die, and truth and justice triumph.

When the historian shall record the truth of Senator GORMAN's life, this story will be both interesting and instructive. Let the truth be told and the story will show a life devoted to toil, devotion to duty, and honest and faithful in all the relations of life. This story will show that he was a man of convictions, and that he battled fearlessly and unrelentingly to accomplish his purposes; that he was not only a man of ability, but of integrity and high courage; that he was a man who loved the whole country and bore no malice in his heart toward anyone. This story, truthfully and impartially related, will show that he fought openly and manfully for what he believed to be right, and that he fought for those things which he firmly believed would advance the best interests of his country.

When I first knew him the relations between us were not so cordial; we did not know and understand each other. The more I knew of him the better I liked him. When he died, we were warm, sincere, and devoted friends.

He was a Senator with long service and was helpful to me in the discharge of my duties. I express my sincere convictions when I say he was a pure, honest, and fearless patriot. I honored, respected, and loved Senator GORMAN. In his death we have lost a most illustrious member, a wise and safe leader, an able statesman, and an accomplished gentleman.

Senator GORMAN attained his high distinction in the service and counsels of his country by the practice of those cardinal virtues which constitute the road to elevation and fame.

History teaches us that from the first settlement of Maryland she never authorized a single act of intolerance against any denomination of Christians. Maryland established the practice of Christian toleration in the new hemisphere and laid the great work for the complete superstructure, which was afterwards reared by the hands of Jefferson and his illustrious colaborers, of the cause of truth.

Mr. Bancroft tells us she was the first to give religious liberty a home, its only home in the wide world, where the disfranchised friends of prelacy from Massachusetts and the Puritans from Virginia were welcome to equal liberty of conscience and political rights:

The first of every land in all the world
Where love of God, in peace, each creed defined
And freedom of the heart was certified
By freedom of the mind;

Where Christian each might worship as he willed,
Where temples thronging different faiths arose,
Where bigot and where martyr, side by side,
Were shielded from their foes.

It was lamentable to see men who had fled from the Old World to secure the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty themselves and their children persecuting their fellow-men for a difference in creed. Maryland taught a better lesson and exemplified her teachings by her practice.

The Republic has followed the splendid example taught in the early history of the nation by the sons of Maryland.

Senator GORMAN began life with correct principles. He firmly exemplified by every act of his life his belief and adherence to the principles taught by the founders of his State.

The spirit of toleration characterized every act of his life. He believed that every citizen of the Republic was entitled to the peaceful enjoyment of civil and religious liberty.

Mr. President, a great man is gone. His life work is ended. In his private life he was kind, courteous, generous, and noble. He has fulfilled his mission and done his work well.

It can be truly said that he manfully discharged every private and public obligation of life.

His history shows us much to admire and to emulate. He has made a record of which we all may be proud. He has set an example that all of us who survive him may well follow.

In his death his State has lost one of her most illustrious sons and the country one of its ablest and purest statesmen.

ADDRESS OF MR. HALE, OF MAINE

MR. PRESIDENT: The late Senator from Maryland and I came to the Senate at the same time, standing at the desk together where we were sworn in on the 4th day of March, 1881, the opening day of the Forty-seventh Congress. Mr. GORMAN before that had no Congressional service, but was prominent in his party and was accounted as its leader in the State of Maryland. He had acquired legislative experience by service in both branches of the Maryland legislature; was prominent in large business enterprises in the State, and so, both by natural ability and by experience, was amply qualified to render important service in this body.

It was my good fortune to be placed with him on important committees and to become closely acquainted with him in a personal intercourse which developed a friendship upon which I have always set great value and to which I contributed a sincere regard, founded upon the deepest respect. I do not recall a single instance where this friendship, though Mr. GORMAN and I had many sharp conflicts upon this floor, was ever strained or interrupted.

The fine character and great services of the late Senator have been so well portrayed by the eloquent Senator from Maryland who presents the resolutions, and by other Senators who had long service with him, that in what I am to say briefly I shall confine myself to the consideration of Mr. GORMAN's service in the Senate as a great legislator.

He could make speeches, always good and never long. He could maintain the organization of his party on this floor, where he was its acknowledged leader. His eye was quick in

discerning any weakness in the action of his opponents when purely political measures were up for discussion and action. He was wary and a master of expedient and device and was sleepless in exercising the mastery that was accorded to him in the councils of his party, both here and elsewhere.

But beyond these things, Mr. President—and I should say greater than all these things in estimating Mr. GORMAN'S public service—was his prominence as a great legislator and in shaping general legislation. He gave the best part of his time to this field of duty. It is not so picturesque a field, Mr. President, as some others. Its product and its results do not so often occupy the newspapers or arouse immediate public interest, but the grave and thoughtful temperament of Mr. GORMAN, his self-poise, and his sedateness all suited with that work here which is formulated and worked out and at last crystallized into what I may call good legislation. Into this domain Mr. GORMAN never intruded mere party politics. He acted with unwavering fidelity with either Democrat or Republican who sought to put upon the statute book subjects of legislation for the benefit of all the people.

Neither upon this floor nor in committee room in this work did Mr. GORMAN subordinate the public interest to party preference or advantage. He not only contributed to the work of a good legislator by his quiet, effective work in committee, but in hundreds of instances on this floor he was able to show, by his great facility as a debater, how important he counted the public good and how earnest was his desire to contribute to it.

It will be a long day, Mr. President, before the superior of the late Senator from Maryland, in this regard, will be found upon this floor upon either side of the Chamber.

Mr. President, the service here of an old Senator, although

in the highest degree honorable and sought by us all, is not easy nor always comfortable and, perhaps I may say, not always enjoyable. It is beset with added labor and responsibility, and the necessity, at times, for independence of thought and action, and a fearlessness, which may not always be upon the right side and certainly is not infrequently upon the unpopular side. And, added to all this, is the saddening feature, in an older Senator's career, of seeing his friends and associates drop away in the march of time, until at last he stands comparatively alone.

When a Senator like Mr. GORMAN is called from duty in this body, by a summons which no man can resist, he is missed and mourned by all, but by none so keenly as the men with whom he has been longest associated.

There are to-day, Mr. President, but two Senators on this floor who had seats here when Mr. GORMAN and I entered the Senate and who have held continuous service ever since—the distinguished Senator from Iowa, Mr. Allison, and the distinguished Senator from Alabama, Mr. Morgan. Senator Teller's service was interrupted by his Cabinet service in President Arthur's Administration. All the rest have fallen out by the way. They make their loss felt not by any proclamation or outward show but in that intangible way that sinks the deepest into the human heart. We realize the missed foot-step, the clear voice on this floor silent, the calm face at the committee table absent, and all this we feel and we know in the death of the late Senator from Maryland.

We miss all his great qualities. We shall miss his active participation in debate, his guiding hand in legislation, and his prominence in the battles fought on this floor. Let us hope and believe that from these he has passed "to where, beyond these voices, there is peace."

ADDRESS OF MR. CULLOM, OF ILLINOIS

MR. PRESIDENT: The remarks that I shall make will be very brief, but I did not feel that I could afford to miss the opportunity of saying a few words upon this occasion.

We have to-day laid aside the ordinary business of the Senate that we may pay our tribute to the memory of a loved and respected colleague, ARTHUR PUE GORMAN, late a Senator from Maryland, who for many years was one of the most prominent members of this body.

Senator GORMAN had a remarkable public career. Without the advantages of a great family name, without wealth, with a limited education, through his own exertions alone, he rose from an humble employee of this Senate to the position of one of its members and a leader of his party second to none in my term of service.

He was educated in that greatest of all schools, the school of experience. And in his case what a school it was. He was in the service of the Senate during the most important and vital epoch in our history. In his early life he was familiar with those intellectual giants who were Senators during the stirring period preceding the civil war, during the civil war, followed by the days of reconstruction, when our destiny hung in the balance and when the nation, after a baptism of blood and fire, was made anew. Douglas, Seward, Hamlin, Jefferson Davis, Benjamin, Toombs, Houston, Cass, Wade, Sumner, Trumbull, Fessenden, Grimes, and many other of the most noted men in all our history were here as Senators during his early life.

He was a protégé, friend, and follower of that illustrious Illinoisan, Stephen A. Douglas, than whom there was no abler statesman and Senator of his day.

Senator GORMAN might be said to have been born a Douglas Democrat. His father was one of Douglas's greatest admirers, and followed his leader, like so many thousands of patriotic Douglas Democrats, in remaining true to the Union.

As a State legislator, as a leader of his party in Maryland, Senator GORMAN early exhibited those qualities which later gave him so much prominence here. He was little known outside of his State until his election to the Senate in 1880, and the attention of the country was not much attracted to him until four years later, when he conducted the national Democratic campaign of that year, and when, for the first time in twenty-eight years, the national Democratic party was successful and Grover Cleveland was elected President.

As national chairman he showed himself to be a splendid political organizer. In his conduct of the campaign no mistakes were made, and he was entitled to much of the credit for the election of a comparatively unknown local politician of New York against one of the most brilliant and popular statesmen since the days of Henry Clay—James G. Blaine.

I have always felt that Mr. Blaine owed his defeat to two causes—first, the far superior organization and conduct of Mr. Cleveland's campaign under direction of Mr. GORMAN; and, second, to the mistakes and mismanagement of Mr. Blaine's campaign.

Senator GORMAN soon succeeded to the leadership of his party in the Senate. There were others older in years and service, but the leadership seemed to naturally fall to him. He was the real leader in fact as well as in name, and continued as such so long as he remained in the Senate.

He was not a specially brilliant speaker, but he was a clear and forceful talker and an able and dangerous antagonist in debate.

His charming personality, his suavity of manner, his magnetic influence over men with whom he came in contact, combined with his marked ability, made it easy for him to retain the difficult position of a leader of one of the great parties in this body. Some one said of him that his smile was as winsome as ever wooed a vote out of a man's conscience. He enjoyed in the highest degree the respect and confidence of every Senator with whom he served on both sides of the Chamber.

Many Senators here very well remember the long and successful fight, echoed and reechoed in every journal of the United States, which MR. GORMAN led, and which resulted in the defeat of the bill known as the "force bill." As much as Senators on this side regretted the defeat of that bill, we were all forced to admire MR. GORMAN'S generalship in defeating it.

I had the pleasure of knowing Senator GORMAN intimately for more than twenty years, and what I say of him I say from my own personal acquaintance and observation. He was a member of this body when I entered it in 1883. He was among the first to take a deep interest in the regulation of interstate commerce, and from the first to the last he favored the rigid regulation of railroads.

The late Senators Platt of Connecticut and Harris of Tennessee, ex-Senator Miller of New York, Senator GORMAN, and myself constituted the Select Committee on Interstate Commerce which made a thorough investigation of the subject in 1886. Senator GORMAN took a prominent part in the investigation and in the preparation of the original interstate-commerce act, passed in 1887. We traveled over various parts of the country, and held hearings in our larger cities.

I will be pardoned for relating a little incident that took

place when the committee was in New York, on a Sunday. It so happened that there were three ex-Presidents of the United States in New York at that time—ex-Presidents Grant, Hayes, and Arthur—and we determined to call upon them before leaving the city. We called on President Grant first. It seemed strange that Senator GORMAN had never actually met General Grant until then. I had the pleasure of introducing them, and I remember very well that General Grant seemed very much pleased to meet Senator GORMAN, who had become a national figure, and manifested great interest in him.

The greatest general of the age was then in a practically dying condition, although he was seated in a chair, surrounded by his books and papers, trying to finish his famous book in order to leave something to support his wife and family. The General knew that he could live but a short time, and, quite characteristically of him, he seemed to take it calmly and philosophically. He said that his book was finished; that if he could live a little longer—until September, I think he said—he could perfect and improve it, but that he was ready to go at any time. He passed away in a little more than three weeks after we saw him.

For a number of years Senator GORMAN was a member of the Committee on Appropriations. Senators on that committee who served with him will agree that a more valuable and useful member that committee has never had. He was master of all the countless details of the expenditures of the Government.

Senator GORMAN was a business man, and was thoroughly familiar with the tariff. Senators well remember the prominent part which he took in the discussion and passage of the bill known as the "Wilson-Gorman bill." It left the Senate with nearly 700 amendments. He was not a believer in free

trade, but he did believe in a low tariff. The tariff is a question that not only divides the two great parties, but has often caused divisions within both parties. There have been endless discussions over the Wilson tariff act. Personally I have always believed that it was due to Senator GORMAN that a much more injurious act to the industries of the country was not enacted.

Mr. GORMAN's two leading characteristics were, first, his marked ability as a leader; and second, his conservatism as a statesman and legislator. I desire, Mr. President, to enforce those two prominent facts in his character. First, he was a born leader; and second, he was a conservative legislator and statesman. He was a Democrat, but was a conservative one. He did not believe in radical measures. When a great partisan question, such as the force bill, was before the Senate he stood loyally with his party, but he did not believe in dragging partisanship into questions generally coming before Congress. He looked at public questions from the standpoint of a careful, conservative business man, and was generally against any measures that in his judgment would disturb the business of the country or endanger the stability of the Government. He was essentially a safe and able legislator.

Senator GORMAN was a Democrat under all circumstances and conditions. He remained true to his party and fought its battles, even though in later years it adopted principles with which he was not in sympathy. If he could not lead it, he followed it. He did not sympathize with the free-silver doctrine, but on that account he did not abandon the party, but went down with it in defeat. The free-silver platform cost him his seat in the Senate, as the Republicans on that issue gained ascendancy in Maryland.

If this was the greatest defeat of his life, his greatest

triumph was when five years later he carried the State and legislature and was unanimously and triumphantly returned to his seat in the Senate, where he was welcomed by his friends and colleagues of both parties, and in recognition of his superior qualifications was again made the minority leader.

Mr. GORMAN has been sneered at by the reformers as being a politician. He was a politician, Mr. President. Had it not been for his ability as a politician he would not have been a member of this distinguished body. He was for years one of the leading politicians of his party. But he was something more. His conduct during his long service in the Senate demonstrated that he was a statesman of no mean order. Every statesman is of necessity a politician, but every politician is not a statesman. The immortal Lincoln was one of the shrewdest politicians of his day, and that was one of the elements of his strength. It added instead of detracting from his other great and noble qualities. It is no discredit to a man in public life to be called a politician, because every successful man in public life is a politician.

From the time that Mr. GORMAN became prominent in national affairs until his death it was believed that he was ambitious to become President of the United States. At one time he could have been the nominee of his party. Ambitious he certainly was, but whether it was the possible fear of defeat, as claimed by his enemies, or a disinclination to assume the responsibilities of the great office of President that seemed to make him hesitate rather than actually seek it, I do not know. My acquaintance with and observation of him lead me to the conclusion that, unlike most of our prominent statesmen of to-day, he did not care sufficiently for the office to actually seek it.

If he had retained his health, he would have retained all of his old influence with his party, both in and out of the Senate.

but in his life—he had lived years where others had lived months—his once vigorous constitution became undermined, and in the language of a British statesman, pronouncing a eulogy over Prince Albert, “came the blind fury with the abhorred shears and slit the thin-spun life.”

Senator GORMAN passed away, as I believe he would have wished, one of the most honored and respected members of this body, in whose service the younger years of his life were spent.

ADDRESS OF MR. BLACKBURN, OF KENTUCKY

MR. PRESIDENT: After listening to the tributes that have been paid to the dead Senator from Maryland—that which has been pronounced in his own matchless fashion by his eloquent colleague, the senior Senator from that State, and the others, exceptionally elaborate and finished and just—it would seem that there was little, if indeed anything, to be said. But I can not gain my own consent to allow this occasion to pass without bearing my poor tribute to the memory of the dead Senator. My acquaintance with him was too long, my association with him too close, my estimate of him was too high, and my affection for him too sincere for me to observe silence.

Sir, we may well pause at the grave and ponder on the life of a man who was big enough and strong enough to play the part of a conceded leader of his fellows and leave an imperishable impression upon the days and times in which he lived. It may be true, sir, and I doubt not as a rule it is true, that men are mainly in point of their career the product of two forces—heredity and environment. I doubt not it is true that select where you may as a general rule there is little left in a man's career save the product of one or both of these forces. But occasionally we meet with a man who is taken out of that general rule, who is possessed of an inherent sturdiness of character, of an ability, of a persistency, and of those intellectual and moral qualities that make him the exception to the rule.

Such a man was Senator GORMAN. He was not the beneficiary either of heredity or of environment. He came from the body of the great common people, with no illustrious lineage behind him, with neither fortune nor fame, nor surroundings

that were conspicuously fortunate. He began at the bottom; he ended his life at the top, measured by any crucial standard that you may see fit to apply. His career was too long and it was too thoroughly crowded and studded with achievements of no ordinary character to permit of anything like a complete review on an occasion like this.

I would not seek, friend as I was to him, I would not ask, nay, sir, I would not have said of him to-day one single syllable of panegyric or undeserved eulogium. I would not measure out even to the dead, however close they may have been in life, aught except a fair, full measure of justice.

His colleague, in that splendid burst of eloquence with which he paid his tribute to the dead statesman, has told you that a man of positive character as was Mr. GORMAN, naturally, inevitably gathered about him hosts of friends, but with equal necessity created numberless opponents. It is to-day one purpose, and only one purpose, that prompts me to speak, and that is to protest against the injustice to which he was subjected on one memorable occasion in his life where he was made the victim of unfair criticism, where, because of the conspicuous position that he held and the unquestioned power that he wielded, it was sought by others who deserved it more to fasten upon him responsibilities that were not his own.

I refer to a memorable occasion in the political history of our country, fresh in the minds of many Senators who sit about me, when party representation in this Chamber was measured by so narrow a majority that a single vote was sufficient to tip the balance and determine the complexion of its legislation. When the tariff bill came from the house, the bill known as the "Wilson bill," which was to supersede the McKinley measure, Mr. GORMAN was indeed a potential factor in this Chamber. His action upon that occasion, his course in connec-

tion with that important measure, have been made the occasion of unfair censure and unmerited criticism.

That bill, Mr. President, whilst it might have been, and by many was believed to be, a decided improvement upon the taxing measure that it supplanted, failed, as is known of all men, to meet the expectations of the country or the reasonable demands made by Mr. GORMAN's party.

For that failure, and the failure is confessed and conceded, it was sought to fasten upon the Maryland Senator a decree of responsibility which did not honestly belong to him; and here, in order to vindicate the truth of history, I enter an earnest and solemn protest against that injustice surviving after he has gone. Other men of his party, then higher in station and in power than he was, who sought to relieve themselves of criticism by undertaking to fasten upon him a burden that did not belong to him, should answer at the bar of history instead of the dead Marylander.

The records of this Congress show, the Congressional Record, in its imperishable pages, will bear out the declaration, that when summoned to testify as witnesses upon this floor his collaborators upon the Senate Committee on Finance, most of them now dead, as is the Maryland Senator—Voorhees, of Indiana, the chairman of that committee; Harris, of Tennessee; Vest, of Missouri; and Jones of Arkansas—bore willing witness to the fact that there never was a modification made in that measure, there never was a step taken in its revision or remodeling, there never was an alteration proposed or carried into effect by the conference of this side of the Chamber upon that tax bill which was not unhesitatingly approved and indorsed, pleaded for, and demanded by those higher in authority than Mr. GORMAN or myself, who afterwards saw fit to denounce it and brand it with the brand of perfidy.

I protest here, in justice to the dead, that the responsibilities in that case did not belong to the man whose memory to-day we honor. He bore the unjust accusation patiently. That splendid serenity and poise which has been so happily described by his colleague did not desert him. That was one of the distinguishing characteristics of the man. He was always serene, always self-poised, and never taken by surprise. In the hour of his triumph and in the hour of his disasters and defeats he was always the same self-contained, the even-poised, undisturbed, unshaken man.

But if I were to single out one period in his service, one point in all his career, that to my mind was the most creditable and most to be admired, it would be his identification with that important period of our country's history to which allusion has been made by more than one of the Senators who have preceded me, to the part that GORMAN bore in the force-bill fight on the floor of the Senate.

In order to appreciate his conduct and his bearing and measure fairly the service that he rendered then, it is necessary for those who were not here at the time, as I was, to go back and acquaint themselves with the conditions that confronted us. The passions of the war had not entirely subsided. The bitterness of partisan feeling was running high indeed in these Chambers. The House of Representatives, without debate, had passed a bill which we of the South believed doomed that section to all the horrors of a revived carpetbag military government. We honestly believed that every hope and every aspiration that that great section of our country cherished was to be blighted, that the wheels of civilization were to be reversed, that we were to be turned back to a darker, aye, sir, to the darkest, period which ever marked the history of our country.

The House had passed the bill; the President had sent message after message urging the Senate to enact it; a clear majority of Senators upon this floor stood committed to its support whenever a final vote should be called for its passage. There was nothing left between the South and absolute chaos and utter wreck and ruin except what appeared to be the helpless and hopeless minority of Democrats upon this side of the Chamber. Passed through the House, indorsed by a majority of Senators upon the floor, who only waited for an opportunity to crystallize it into law, the President of the country telling us in special messages that he with itching hand was holding his pen ready to affix his approval and his signature—that was the dark outlook which we confronted.

MR. GORMAN, to whom every Democrat turned as by instinct as the leader, if one there be left on earth who could save his party and his country, stood at the head of that phalanx of undaunted, brave men interposing themselves for the protection of the South. Never while life lasts can I forget the incidents of that struggle. The days went by but slowly and the weeks dragged their weary length along, whilst without adjournment, night and day, that small band was on duty and its unswerving, brave, devoted commander was on deck.

I venture to assert that in all the tide of time you will search in vain among the records of the English-speaking peoples of this world to find a parallel to the splendid generalship, the resources, the matchless courage, the unquestioning devotion, and the brilliant commandership that GORMAN manifested upon that occasion. A forlorn hope, of course, he led; battlements, impregnable, he could not scale, but he accomplished his purpose. He saved the South, and in my judgment he saved the North as well, when by a flank movement he side-tracked the force bill and buried it in a grave to which it

should have been doomed upon its birth. The most splendid parliamentary battle of which history gives us record was the one that was fought and the one that was won by the Maryland leader.

Speaking in the light of a service in Congress not especially short, I frankly avow and without hesitation declare that I have never come in contact with a man in public life since first I entered the council chambers of my country who had in so great a degree all the properties and qualities that go to constitute a leader of men. I have never known either his superior or his equal.

I do not care to say more, Mr. President, but I deem it proper, in order that justice complete and full shall be done to him and his memory, to ask that I may insert in the Record of to-day's proceedings the resolution passed unanimously by the caucus of the Democratic party of the Senate on the occasion of his death.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, permission is granted.

The resolution referred to is as follows:

The Democratic Senators at their first meeting in conference subsequent to the death of their former honored and loved chairman, the late Senator GORMAN, obey their unaffected impulse in the expression of their profound sorrow for his loss to them as their personal friend and their sagacious, faithful political guide in their official relations.

A faithful friend, a zealous and wise party leader, considerate and conciliatory and careful of the interests of all, he greatly endeared himself to his party associates, by whom his memory will ever be most fondly cherished.

ADDRESS OF MR. FRYE, OF MAINE

MR. PRESIDENT: I shall pay my tribute to the memory of the late Senator GORMAN in a very few words, but sincere.

During all the years we were associated together in this Chamber we were close personal friends. All the while we had a continuing pair, under the terms of which either was to vote whenever he pleased, each confident that the other would protect him whenever a political question was under consideration. It is not necessary for me to say that that confidence was never betrayed. I had for him a warm affection and ardent admiration, and I am proud to believe that the affection was reciprocated.

Prompted by that friendship I was interested in and observant of Mr. GORMAN's remarkable public career. He was most bitterly assailed as an unscrupulous politician, ready at any time to avail himself of any means to secure the ends he sought. I have failed, sir, utterly to find any justification whatever for that charge. He was a politician—adroit, alert, full of resource. Possibly he was a partisan. If he was, I admire and do not censure. I have little faith in a man connected with a political party, who really and honestly believes in its principles, who is not ready at all times to defend and maintain them.

That Mr. GORMAN would avail himself of every opportunity he honorably could to strengthen his party I have no doubt. I recall a somewhat spectacular illustration of that. I was present at the Republican ministerial meeting at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York when it was declared that the strength of the Democratic party was rum, Romanism, and rebellion. Mr. GORMAN was chairman of the Democratic national committee.

He saw that opportunity; he promptly availed himself of it, and in a few hours that wretched declaration was scattered broadcast all over this country. It was a most weighty contribution. Mr. Blaine was defeated, Mr. Cleveland elected, and Senator GORMAN did it.

Mr. President, Senator GORMAN was a Democrat and an earnest one, and a thorough politician, but when duty to his country demanded he gave to his country regardless of his party. When the civil war broke out, he was a resident of the State of Maryland. In the face of party and of most powerful social influences, he was a loyal and devoted friend to the cause of the Union, utterly regardless of the effect it might have upon his fortunes in that State.

Mr. GORMAN was the recognized leader on the Democratic side for many years. It was a position of great power. I never yet heard any Republican Senator charge him with an exercise of that power unfair or dishonorable.

Mr. GORMAN was a thoroughly equipped business man. As such, his services here were of great value. When in his judgment the best business interests of his country demanded, he left party or disregarded party demands, as the records of this Chamber show.

His private life was without reproach. He had no vices, no bad habits. He was a man pure in thought and act. It was my good fortune to be an occasional visitor at his home in Maryland. It was an ideal home, with an ideal head. He was a tender, loyal, devoted husband, and an affectionate, indulgent father.

Mr. President, in Senator GORMAN'S death the Senate, his State, our country suffered a most serious loss, and that ideal home is desolate indeed.

ADDRESS OF MR. OVERMAN, OF NORTH CAROLINA

MR. PRESIDENT: Five times in the four short years in which I have been a member of this body we have been called upon to pay the last tribute to the memory of five of its most distinguished members. Six times in that short period the chilling hand of death has cast a dark shadow over this Chamber and the pale horse has entered its portal whence its mysterious rider has borne these great men away on the long journey to the mysterious beyond, a journey which the humble and the great, the rich and the poor, all alike, sooner or later must take. As they depart we are reminded that man's days upon earth are but "few and full of trouble," and that his glory is, like the flower of the field, soon to fade and wither.

While others who were long associated with him and who were more intimate with him have recounted his virtues, have reviewed the splendid career of Senator GORMAN, whose departure we so grievously lament, I, as one of the younger Senators, arise simply to drop a tear, to add one flower to the chaplet, and to give expression of my sorrow at his sad taking off.

Mr. President, four years ago on the 4th of March next I entered this Chamber to take the oath of office and enter upon the discharge of my duties as a Senator of the United States. Mr. GORMAN, having been an honored Member for some eighteen years, had been retired. Four years later he was returning again in great triumph, again to take on the Senatorial toga, and to be the leader of his great party upon the floor. He was sworn in on that same day. This was the first time I had ever met and become personally acquainted with

him, and I shall never forget the warm, cordial grasp of the hand and the gentle courtesy with which he welcomed me, the care with which he instructed me in the mysteries of the Senate, and his words of advice. He seemed to take a kindly interest in me at once and endeavored to make me feel that I was to be no stranger here.

I attended his funeral and followed his remains to their last resting place in the beautiful Oak Hill Cemetery, in this city. I was deeply impressed, as I think everyone present was, with the simplicity of the funeral. There was no lying in state, no cavalcade, no parade, no gathering of the great officers of the Government, no show; only the simple ceremony held in the parlor of his comfortable but unostentatious home in this city, his stately coffin surrounded by his bereaved and devoted family and a few of his most intimate friends. A short prayer was offered, a short yet beautiful and touching address by the minister, and it was all over. All of this was at his request, and shows this man's most charming characteristic, that of modesty, which marked him through life and which usually marks the great man.

Others have spoken of the great ability which so distinguished his public career. But looking back over these three years from 1903 to June, 1906, when he died, in this sad hour, as we pay loving tribute to his memory, I would recall not only his modest demeanor, but his kind and gentle spirit, his always ready and responsive sympathy, his freedom from bigotry, his evenness of temper, his forbearance, his charity, his uniform courtesy in conversation and in debate; these were some of the chief characteristics which made men love him, and these, with his great mind, made him not only a leader of the people, but a leader in every legislative body of which he was a member. Senator GORMAN made his impress upon

the whole country, and his death was lamented not only by the Members of this body, but by the people throughout this broad land of ours. His seat here will not be easily filled. He was no ordinary man.

He began his life work at the age of 13 as a page in this body, having been appointed by Stephen A. Douglas in 1852, in which position he served for twelve years, acting during that time as secretary to Mr. Douglas and as postmaster of the Senate. It was during these years that the fires of ambition were lighted and began to burn in his young heart. His associations with great men inspired him to be great also, and he often dreamed of the time when he should represent his State in this great body and take the place of some of the great men whom he so faithfully served in his young manhood.

In 1866 he returned to his State to fill the important position of collector of internal revenue. His rise was rapid. He soon became a leader, filling many important positions in his native State. He was first a director and afterwards president of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company. For six years he was a member of the house of delegates, two years of which he served as speaker of that body. For six years also he was a member of the State senate, until in 1881 he was elected to the United States Senate. Here his rise was rapid also. It was but a short time until he was regarded as one of the leaders of his party, and his advice was sought in every great movement for his party's success.

He was a master parliamentarian, and it was greatly through his skill and tactics that a minority was able to defeat in the Senate legislation hostile to his section. In 1889 he was made the leader of his party upon the floor of the Senate, leading them through many a storm to victory. But perhaps his greatest triumph, and one for which his party and the South

owe him a lasting debt of gratitude, and one which she will never forget, was his magnificent leadership and the noble fight he made against the election bill. Under his leadership and directed by his skill the minority achieved a glorious victory and succeeded in defeating that bill, which even its friends now admit was not only unwise, but which would have proved disastrous to the South and perhaps caused a race war and bloodshed.

While Senator GORMAN was gentle and kind in his nature, Mr. President, yet he was as courageous as a lion and determined whenever the occasion required. In the exciting days following the election of Grover Cleveland to the Presidency, when the result for days seemed in doubt and the leaders of the opposite party were making claims of victory, Senator GORMAN was at the Democratic headquarters. He was on the watchtower day and night guarding his party's interests and infusing courage and determination in its leaders. He knew Mr. Cleveland was elected and was determined that the experience of 1876 should not be repeated; that the man elected by the people should be inaugurated their President.

In the last Presidential campaign he was again asked to lead his party, but on account of his failing health he was compelled to decline. Thus for a quarter of a century his advice and counsel were sought by the leaders of his party in the nation, while here his associates found him a wise, safe, and sympathetic counsellor.

The most striking illustration of his influence and the esteem in which he was held by his party associates on this floor is the fact that, having been retired for six years, upon his election in 1903 he was unanimously restored to his old leadership; and I doubt if the annals of the Senate will show a superior in parliamentary tactics. He was always in his seat, ever watch-

ful of his party's as well as his country's interests, helpful and influential in shaping legislation and policies, sound in judgment, quick of perception, well informed upon all great questions affecting the Government. He was not only respected and followed by his party associates, but he always commanded the admiration of his opponents.

His voice is forever still; his labors and sorrows are over; but the memory of his good deeds and his public career will live in history. We indulge the hope that when the call came to pass over the dark river he was prepared to meet his Pilot face to face.

Sunset and evening star,
And one clear call for me!
And may there be no moaning of the bar
When I put out to sea.

Twilight and evening bell,
And after that the dark!
And may there be no sadness of farewell
When I embark.

For tho' from out our bourne of time and place,
The flood may bear me far,
I hope to see my Pilot face to face
When I have crost the bar.

ADDRESS OF MR. TILLMAN, OF SOUTH CAROLINA

MR. PRESIDENT: Other Senators have fully covered the facts in the life of our lamented colleague and have given voice to their feelings and love and respect. Each man who has spoken so eloquently in his praise has drawn a picture of his public characteristics and personal traits. I shall present another phase of his work and life.

In my long service with the Senator from Maryland I was always impressed with the completeness with which he illustrated the famous Latin maxim "*Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re.*" Gentle in manners, resolute in deed. He was especially courteous and friendly in his dealings with all men. He was warm-hearted to a fault and ever ready to do a favor or an act of kindness. At the same time he was a man of great force and strength of character, ready to fight with all of his might for any cause in which he enlisted. He was especially qualified for leadership, because of the tact and skill with which he carried out his plans. He was a diplomatist of the very highest type, but was always loyal to his convictions. In those qualities which make for good leadership—judgment and a knowledge of human nature—he was especially strong and carried men along with him almost without their knowing it. I have never seen his superior as a party leader, and, though he made mistakes, as we all do, he was exceptionally free from the weakness which characterizes some men of blaming others for the blunders made.

In the history of the politics of his time he will always occupy a prominent place, and few men who have filled the high position of Senator exerted a weightier influence on legis-

lation than did Senator GORMAN. His greatest service, certainly one of the greatest achievements of his career, of which mention has been already made, was the defeat of the force bill; that bitter partisan measure which would have postponed for years, if it had not absolutely destroyed, all chance for the happy condition and relation toward each other of the two sections of our great country which now exists. Had that bill passed, sectional hatred would have flamed up into intensity as great or greater than existed at the close of the civil war, and strife and bloodshed would have followed on a scale which can only be conjectured. Its strongest advocates are now content to acknowledge that it was a great mistake to have undertaken to pass such a law. In proportion as this feeling of satisfaction shall grow Senator GORMAN's services will stand out in bold relief and more and more entitle him to the admiration and respect of posterity for his great work in that great crisis.

There is another incident of his career that had as much or more than any other act of his life to do with making him, for the time being, unpopular with the unthinking masses and causing him to become the object of most bitter and vindictive criticism. I mean the charge, which, though not made in direct words, was unmistakably aimed at him, of being guilty of "party perfidy and party dishonor" in regard to the Wilson-Gorman tariff bill. It happens that I can bear personal testimony as to one of the most talked-of incidents in connection with that matter, and in discussing his career and contributing in ever so slight a way to a proper understanding of Senator GORMAN's public work and statesmanship, I would feel recreant if I omitted to throw such light on this transaction as is in my power to do, and join the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Blackburn] in protest against injustice to Senator GORMAN's memory.

In October, 1892, I visited New York on business and

remained in the city a week or more. I was at that time governor of South Carolina. Naturally I felt a most keen interest in the result of the approaching Presidential election. I visited the Democratic headquarters and had opportunity to talk with some of the leading men connected with the conduct of the Democratic campaign. There was intense interest and feeling, in view of the well-known attitude of President Harrison on the force bill. I lived in a State where the negroes were in the majority and where we had suffered from negro domination. So I felt the deepest concern for the success of the Democratic party, feeling that the election of a Republican President at that juncture, who favored the force bill, would be nothing short of a national calamity. I found there was great activity at headquarters, and frantic appeals were being made for campaign funds to strengthen the party in several doubtful States as well as in certain specified localities in New York State.

In the Southern States then—and, in a large measure, it is still true so far as that section is concerned—money exerted very little influence in elections; but realizing that things were different in the North, after talking with those who had charge of financing the campaign, I took immediate steps to have the chairman of the Democratic State committee of South Carolina exert himself to the utmost to obtain as much money as possible and forward it to Democratic headquarters. In the conversations which I had with the Democratic leaders it was clearly brought out that the sugar refiners were ready to contribute to the Democratic campaign fund if it could be understood that the industry would be fostered and not destroyed by the Democratic tariff policy, and I received the impression, which became indelibly fixed on my mind then and remains fixed to this day, that President Cleveland understood the

situation and was willing to acquiesce in it if we won at the polls. I did not talk with Mr. Cleveland in person on this subject, though I called at his hotel to pay my respects, and I am thoroughly satisfied that the charge of "party perfidy and party dishonor" in the famous Wilson letter was an act of grossest wrong and cruelty to Senator GORMAN. If Mr. Cleveland, as I was told, knew of these negotiations and was the beneficiary of such a contribution, it is inconceivable how he could lend his great name and influence toward destroying Senator GORMAN's influence and popularity in the way he did. No wonder the Senator from Maryland, in the speech delivered in this body on July 23, 1894, made this indignant denial:

As I have said, sir, this is a most extraordinary proceeding for a Democrat, elected to the highest place in the Government, and fellow-Democrats in another high place, where they have the right to speak and legislate generally, to join with the commune in traducing the Senate of the United States, to blacken the character of Senators who are as honorable as they are, who are as patriotic as they ever can be, who have done as much to serve their party as men who are now the beneficiaries of your labor and mine, to taunt and jeer at us before the country as the advocates of trusts and as guilty of dishonor and perfidy.

When it is remembered that the placing of a duty on sugar under the Wilson-Gorman tariff as a substitute for the bounty system of the McKinley tariff was made necessary in order to get the votes of the two Louisiana Senators, it was easy to see that we either had to have no tariff legislation that session or the pledges made before the election had to be carried out. GORMAN, honorable man as he was, and party leader in the Senate of the Democrats, redeemed every pledge made by the party leaders in New York. There was something pathetic in the indignant words with which he met the charge of "party perfidy and party dishonor," which had been so unjustly hurled at him by President Cleveland. I quote from the same speech of July 23, 1894:

The junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Smith], the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. Brice], and myself were then giving our time and our

money and everything that men can give for the success of the party. We conferred with all those distinguished gentlemen. We were not at the conference with the candidate, but had from both sides what had occurred. They wanted to know if the Democratic organization, of which we were a part, put the same construction upon it and would be in favor of that line of procedure thereafter. They said to us frankly, "We want to tell our people the truth. We do not want to press you to give a single fraction of a cent to Louisiana, but we only want to know the truth." At that solemn conclave we all said, "Yes, it is a dutiable article; it is to be and must be the corner stone by which we will overthrow McKinleyism; you shall have it."

Mr. President, I would have given anything in reason for the interest of my people whom I represent if I could have had free sugar all along the line. I could not have it without violating the rule that I have made for myself, not to-day, but from the beginning of my career, for a fair revenue duty on all dutiable articles.

But above all, sir, in all my public career, no man, no living being, has ever charged me with perfidy. No soul can say that I ever made a promise about public or private matters that I did not carry it out if I had the power to do it. These two Senators and myself, carrying out our pledge, have stood here and been gibbeted as three men who were in a sugar trust. It is unnecessary to say no Senator on this floor with whom I am associated would believe such a thing, but it is due to the man who writes the history that he shall have the truth of the transaction.

The effect of these unjust and perfidious attacks upon Senator GORMAN was to give Maryland over to the Republican party for the time being and to send GORMAN into retirement; but with the indomitable will which always characterized him and a better understanding by the people of his State of the real facts in the case, after a period of retirement he was fully vindicated and returned to the Senate as Maryland's representative in this body. It is needless to say what gratification this afforded his party associates; and I feel it was also a matter for congratulation among his political opponents, for aside from party loyalty, which must characterize in a way all of our dealings with each other here, the personal bond is by far the strongest one in this great body, and men are judged and exert influence in a far greater degree by reason of their personal

relations and characteristics than from any other cause. His departure from our midst has left a place vacant that few can fill; and those of us who had the privilege of knowing him intimately will always cherish the strongest feeling of admiration for the man as well as for the Senator. Always, Mr. President—

÷ ÷ ÷ He bore without abuse
The grand old name of gentleman.

ADDRESS OF MR. WHYTE, OF MARYLAND

MR. PRESIDENT: It is a custom honored in the observance to pay a just tribute to a member of the Senate when he has "walked the way of nature" and gone hence to be seen no more.

The colleagues of the late Senator GORMAN have borne testimony, in no uncertain language, of the value of his public services in this body during his long tenure of the Senatorial office, and there is nothing left to be added to their estimate of his worth. I recognize, however, my duty, as a Senator from Maryland, to say a word on this sad occasion. Silence would be unjust to the memory of the dead and false to my own sense of manhood.

My first acquaintance with the late Senator occurred in the summer of 1871. He was then a young man 32 years of age, full of vigor and acuteness, after service as page and Postmaster of the Senate, and with keen knowledge of public affairs, acquired in the office of collector of internal revenue in the fifth district of Maryland. I was a candidate for the office of governor of Maryland, and promptly discovered in him an astute political leader, and our friendly relations began at that period.

He came to the house of delegates for the session of 1872, while I was governor, and was made its speaker. The duties of that position he discharged with signal ability, and what he had learned in the Senate, in the official position he held between 1862 and 1869, rendered him able to discharge the functions of the speakership without embarrassment.

After the session of the legislature he was made president of

the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, in which the State had large interests, and for which position I rendered him all the aid in my power.

About the year 1879, owing purely to political differences, the association in party affairs which had previously existed between us was severed, and our paths in party conferences thereafter ran in different directions; but I can with satisfaction say at this day that our personal relations were not suspended up to the hour of his decease. On the contrary, whenever we met it was in the social and cordial way of former days. His private life was most exemplary, and his devotion to his home and his family won the admiration of his thousands of friends in his native State.

May he rest in peace!

And now, Mr. President, as a further mark of respect, I ask that the resolution I send to the desk be adopted by the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolution submitted by the junior Senator from Maryland will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate do now adjourn.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 7 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Saturday, February 2, 1907, at 12 o'clock meridian

PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE

MONDAY, June 4, 1906.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Parkinson, its reading clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. ARTHUR PEE GORMAN, late a Senator from the State of Maryland.

Resolved, That a committee of seventeen Senators be appointed by the Vice-President to take order for superintending the funeral of Mr. GORMAN, which will take place at his late residence Thursday, June 7, at 11 o'clock, and that the Senate will attend the same.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect his remains be removed from his late home to the place of interment, in Oak Hill Cemetery, in charge of the Sergeant-at-Arms, attended by the committee, who shall have full power to carry these resolutions into effect; and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate a copy of these resolutions to the House of Representatives.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

And that in compliance with the foregoing the Vice-President had appointed as said committee Mr. Rayner, Mr. Allison, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Hale, Mr. Aldrich, Mr. Teller, Mr. Gallinger, Mr. Elkins, Mr. Martin, Mr. Tillman, Mr. Clay, Mr. Spooner, Mr. Kean, Mr. Bailey, Mr. Blackburn, Mr. Clark of Montana, and Mr. Overman.

Mr. TALBOTT. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolutions:

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. ARTHUR PEE GORMAN, a Senator of the United States from the State of Maryland.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That a committee of seventeen Members be appointed on the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolutions.

The question was taken; and the resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Chair announces the appointment of the following committee.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. J. Fred C. Talbott, Mr. John Gill, jr., Mr. Thomas A. Smith of Maryland, Mr. Sydney E. Mudd, Mr. Frank C. Wachter, Mr. George A. Pearre, Mr. John S. Williams, Mr. Leonidas F. Livingston, Mr. Thomas B. Davis of West Virginia, Mr. Samuel M. Robertson, Mr. John A. Moon of Tennessee, Mr. John H. Stephens of Texas, Mr. C. L. Bartlett, Mr. J. W. Babcock, Mr. Theodore E. Burton of Ohio, Mr. James M. Griggs, and Mr. John F. Rixey.

Mr. TALBOTT. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect, the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 28 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

TUESDAY, *January 8, 1907.*

Mr. TALBOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the order which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Ordered, That the session of Saturday, February 2, 1907, at 2 o'clock p. m., shall be set apart for memorial addresses on the life, character, and public services of Hon. ARTHUR P. GORMAN, late a United States Senator from the State of Maryland.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

SATURDAY, *February 2, 1907.*

The House met at 12 o'clock m.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Conden, as follows:

Infinite and eternal spirit, God, our heavenly Father, in whom we live and move and have our being, we thank Thee for every aspiration, for every earnest and noble endeavor which leads on to larger life and civilization, and for that profound appreciation which enables us to recognize the nobility of soul and real worth in our fellow-men. We thank Thee for the special order which sets apart this day as a memorial service to one who became conspicuous as a statesman, who by earnest and faithful endeavor rose from the humble position of a page on the floor of the United States Senate to a member of that august body, and who by common consent became the leader of his party, than which no greater encomium could be pronounced, no grander monument reared to his memory. Grant that his character may ever be an inspiration to noble and pure living to those who survive him and to those who shall come after us, and thine be the glory forever. And now, Almighty Father, we are again moved by the news of the death of one of our Congressional family. Comfort, we beseech Thee, those who are bereft of a dear one, and help us all to live so that when our time shall come we shall pass on and hear the word, "Well done, good and faithful servant, enter into the joys of thy Lord." Through Jesus Christ. Amen.

The SPEAKER. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, in pursuance of the order of the House the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Talbott].

MR. TALBOTT. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Talbott] offers a resolution, which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows :

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended that opportunity may be given for tributes to the memory of Hon. ARTHUR PUE GORMAN, late a United States Senator from the State of Maryland.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The question was taken; and the resolution was agreed to.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

ADDRESS OF MR. TALBOTT, OF MARYLAND

MR. SPEAKER: Senator ARTHUR PUE GORMAN was born March 11, 1839. His father was of Irish descent and was a prominent merchant and contractor, with large influence in Democratic politics in Howard County, Maryland, where the late Senator was born. His mother, whose maiden name was Elizabeth Brown, was a descendant of one of the oldest and most prominent families in Howard County, which occupied a conspicuous place before and during the Revolutionary period. At the age of 13 Mr. GORMAN was appointed a page in the United States Senate, I am informed upon the recommendation of the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, who always manifested a decided interest in him. His was a public school education, acquired in his native county, and while limited, by the unaided power of his own personality he attained places of power and distinction. He was promoted from page to postmaster of the Senate, which position he occupied until September 1, 1866, at which time he was removed because of activity in the cause of President Johnson during his noted impeachment trial. Immediately after his removal as postmaster of the Senate President Johnson appointed him collector of internal revenue for the fifth district of Maryland. This office Mr. GORMAN filled until after the inauguration of President Grant, in 1869. In that year he was elected a member of the house of delegates of Maryland, was reelected

in 1871, and at the session of 1872 was elected speaker of the house. In June, 1872, he was elected president of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, and in 1875 was elected to the State senate from Howard County; was elected in January, 1880, to the United States Senate, reelected in 1886 and 1892, and was again chosen Senator in 1902. It will thus be seen that promotion followed fast throughout his entire life—from page to postmaster, from member to speaker of the Maryland house of delegates, from State Senator to United States Senator.

This rapid promotion was because of his extraordinary ability being recognized by those with whom he came in contact in the many positions he occupied. I remember that very shortly after Senator GORMAN began his first term in the Senate, the Hon. James B. Beck, of Kentucky, inquired of me where we found our junior Senator. I replied:

We did not find him; he made himself known, and the people made him Senator.

Senator Beck then said:

The legislature of Maryland may have made mistakes in former times when they elected Senators, but this time made no mistake.

At that time Senator Beck was chairman of the Democratic caucus. This, from such a source, was praise indeed, and showed that Mr. GORMAN had already made an impression on the Senate—an impression that grew by steps until he became the undisputed leader of his party and one of the greatest parliamentarians our Government has known. The Hon. James G. Blaine, in his magnificent eulogy on President Garfield, delivered from the Speaker's chair February 27, 1882, said:

The three most distinguished parliamentary leaders hitherto developed in this country are Mr. Clay, Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Thaddeus Stevens. They were all men of consummate ability, of great earnestness, of intense personality, differing widely each from the others and yet with a single trait in common—the power to command.

He said it would be difficult to rank with these a fourth name in all of our Congressional history. To this most distinguished group I would add Senator ARTHUR PRE GORMAN.

Mr. GORMAN's greatest claim to be added to that list rests upon his masterful fight as party leader in the Senate against the Republican attempt to enact the so-called "force bill." The bill was in charge of the late Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, a strong debater and accomplished parliamentarian. The vote to take up the bill for consideration on December 3, 1890, was—yeas 41, nays 30. The contest was continuous from that date until the 22d of January, 1891, when the bill was displaced on the motion of Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the bill making an apportionment of Representatives in Congress among the several States under the Eleventh Census, the vote upon which motion was—yeas 35, nays 34. During the seven weeks' consideration of the bill, Mr. GORMAN occupied the floor for a considerable time himself, was the recognized leader of the minority, and managed the parliamentary features of the debate. During the contest and discussion of the proposed legislation the people of the country came to realize that it was not wise legislation and not in the interest of the entire country, and six able Republican Senators became likewise impressed. The adoption of the force bill would have called a halt on the prosperity of the South, the section of the country against which it was specially aimed, and would have relegated it again to the sort of government it suffered in the days of reconstruction; in fact, no man can tell how disastrous its adoption would have been to the whole country. Its defeat gave the South renewed courage and confidence in the future. Millions of dollars traveled that way from all sections to be invested, new railroads were built, old lines extended, cotton

mills were erected, steel plants sprang up; in fact, the development of the various interests of the South has been so rapid that the railroad lines now in operation in that section are unequal to transporting its cotton, steel, and various products, and general prosperity reigns.

The deceased Senator is entitled to the gratitude of every patriotic citizen, and especially of the people of the Southland. If he had rendered us no other public service, this of itself ought to be sufficient to entitle him to the gratitude of the entire American people. This feeling in his own State was so great that when the Democratic State convention met in 1891 Mr. GORMAN was unanimously named as the candidate of his party for the Senate, a thing without precedent in the politics of Maryland, and in further recognition of his great services he was presented a handsome silver service, paid for by his admirers in the State.

Mr. GORMAN was an ideal husband and father, and no man in public life enjoyed home surroundings more thoroughly than he, more especially when he could leave Washington and return to his country home in Howard County, where he would enjoy farm life and his family without the constant interruptions of visitors and callers on all kinds of public and private business. He often remarked that this country life, surrounded by his family, was the greatest relief to him—more relief than could be well imagined by one in private life. The Senator was charitable in every sense of the word, and never was known to refuse to contribute to the relief of those in want and trouble. He took special care to see that the families of his tried and true friends were properly taken care of, and assisted in the way calculated to do the most good. I think, Mr. Speaker, that the language used by Mr. GORMAN in his eulogy on Senator Hoar,

of Massachusetts, could be properly applied at this time to himself :

He was a man of pure and stainless life; he could feel for the victims of temptation. Mixed in his own creed, he was ever ready to recognize the sincerity of those who preached a different faith.

Mr. GORMAN labored most intelligently and constantly, and mastered every question and its details with which he had to deal. Without ever having studied law he could put the proper construction on a legislative or Congressional enactment. He thoroughly understood and could with great force discuss all public questions. He was prophetic on at least one important question. He was the first public man to my knowledge who declared publicly that the question of transportation and the control of railroad corporations would have to be dealt with by Congress.

He was ever grateful to the people of his native State who had so frequently honored him, and was largely instrumental in securing for them great and needed improvements.

As Senator, in addition to looking after the material interests of the State and city of Baltimore, he was not unmindful of the claims of private citizens and gave prompt attention to all matters to which they called his attention. Senator GORMAN had enemies—all public men have had them in the past, and all public men will have them in the future—but the compensation in his case was, he had hosts of warm, true friends, always ready and willing to assist him in his battles, who now confess their great loss and pay tribute to his memory and rejoice in the life he lived so well, so usefully, and so honorably. He was extremely courteous in manner and one of the most attractive men it has ever been my fortune to know, accessible at all times to the humble citizen as well as to the citizen of wealth and prominence. All who came in contact with him became at

once impressed with the fact that he was a great deal more than the ordinary man. We all miss him and mourn his loss, and will continue to do so while life lasts, especially those who were his almost daily companions and enjoyed his confidence and affection.

THE SPEAKER. The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. Talbott] will please take the chair.

MR. TALBOTT assumed the chair.

ADDRESS OF MR. CANNON, OF ILLINOIS

MR. SPEAKER: I have been asked to say a word touching the life and services of the late ARTHUR PUE GORMAN.

The Master said on one occasion, when one who ought to have accompanied him gave an excuse that his father was dead and he must needs go and bury him, "Let the dead bury the dead." And as the life of a generation on an average is under 40 years, this rule must necessarily be observed. Otherwise the world would be one vast house of mourning and the race would not make progress. And yet, when those cross the river with whom we have associated, to the family and friends and associates of the deceased the crossing begets sorrow, mourning, and regret, and the practice grows of paying a tribute where it is deserved to those who have crossed over.

I had many years of service in the House coincident to the service of Senator GORMAN in the Senate. I became very well acquainted with him personally as well as in a legislative capacity. My service upon the House Committee on Appropriations and his service, among other committees of the Senate, upon the Senate Committee on Appropriations, brought me frequently in association with him. That was true toward the close of the session, when representing the House in conference, together with my colleagues, with Senator GORMAN and his colleagues upon the conference committee representing the Senate, for the settlement of differences between the two bodies. In fact, I may say that my acquaintance began with him in consequence of work of that kind. I could bear cheerful testimony, if it were needed—I think the world knows it without my bearing such testimony, however—that he brought to his work in a

remarkable degree sincerity of purpose and a desire for service to the people of the United States in his legislative capacity. He not only brought great intelligence, great culture, great knowledge, great integrity, but he also brought great industry. Legislative duties in both House and Senate are somewhat varied.

There is a sentiment throughout the country to be conserved or created, and it is very important indeed from the party standpoint and from the standpoint of the best interests of the Republic that there should be a just and correct sentiment, that is frequently nurtured—sometimes I may say created—by the debates in the two bodies, publicity being given by the press. There the man who abounds in oratory, with fitting words to clothe the ideas that he may have, becomes valuable. But after all, with the newspapers universal, I think the capacity to discuss public questions, as compared with the capacity to understand public business, and without display or oratory consider it, where one is in condition to assist materially in its transaction, perhaps is a more valuable factor than the other factor of creating public sentiment. I do not aim to minimize either of these factors. Senator GORMAN as a debater was strong and forceful and clear, but, in my judgment, his ability, his tact, his industry, and his knowledge in the conference room touching daily transactions in legislation were, to say the least of it, equal to his ability as a debater in the Senate of the United States. Sometimes it is fashionable in the country, if we can not think of anything else to say, to cartoon or to put a humorous little bit in the newspapers, if they need a stickful, sometimes a fling with or without malice, as it may be, at the Congress of the United States. We are not all Solomons in either the House or the Senate, nor are we all Websters, nor are we all GORMANS.

But, measuring my words, after some length of service in the House of Representatives and in contact with the Senate, I believe those two great bodies, in their personnel, average the picked men of the Republic. I refer to this at this time because most of the valuable service that a Senator or a Representative performs for the Republic is a service of which the world does not know. Frequently the average reader, being interested in other matters touching the acquiring of his daily bread and performing his duty as a private citizen, if he reads about it at all does not understand, or does not take the trouble to understand. It is not interesting. In other words, as the common expression is, "it will not read itself." In my judgment this great son of Maryland, who has crossed over, in his splendid and magnificent service in the Senate of the United States is entitled to more credit for the things that never caught the public attention than he is for the magnificent service which commanded the public attention and the public approval.

I said a moment ago that the average life of a generation is under forty years. An old epitaph in Cheltenham churchyard puts into the mouth of an infant who died at the age of three weeks the couplet—

It is so soon that I am done for,
I wonder what I was begun for.

And it seems that all of us at times feel like asking that question. But we are so situated that, while we do stay, such is the necessity for effort that we may live and be subsisted, and care for those of the household and those who are to follow, and to pay our debt to civilization from the standpoint of reputation and from the standpoint of an honest desire to perform our function and do our part, we are content to do the best we can; and when the end comes, in my judgment,

that man is a happy man who has been in public life and who can say, "Well, it is now behind me, but in my day, to the best of my ability, I contributed to the progress of the Republic and of civilization as I was given to see the right." I believe ARTHUR PUE GORMAN, as he crossed over, had the right to make that declaration.

ADDRESS OF MR. CLARK, OF MISSOURI

MR. SPEAKER: It is probable that almost every Representative and Senator who was never much in Washington prior to his election to Congress forms a somewhat definite opinion from afar as to the chief actors in this political and legislative scene; but after he has been here long enough to observe and study them at short range he will be compelled by the unimpeachable evidence of his own senses to modify his verdict in many cases, always to his surprise, sometimes with delight, and sometimes with regret.

Public men may be divided roughly into three classes: Those equal to their reputations, those bigger than their reputations, and those smaller than their reputations.

ARTHUR PUE GORMAN at a distance, as described by the voice of fame, was a pleasing, a commanding figure. He grew on one from personal contact and close inspection. His handsome presence, his winsome manners, his exquisite courtesy which was ingrained, not put on and off as a garment—his thoughtful and unfailing kindness to newcomers, his unsurpassed tact, his rare equipoise, his wise counsel when sought by even the humblest Member, his splendid powers as a conversationalist, all tended to enhance the high estimate one had formed of him from the public press and from the Congressional Record.

I want to interpolate at this point a matter suggested by the very fine speech of Speaker Cannon. In the Christmas holidays of 1899 the Southern Railroad gave the Gridiron Club an excursion to Charleston, S. C. Going down and coming back they were the guests of the road; in Charleston they were the

guests of the city; and I never in my life had a more enjoyable trip. The club invited Senator Tilden, Senator Depew, and myself to go along and make speeches, though as a matter of fact several members of the club could have made better speeches than any of us.

On that trip I propounded this query to the members of the club one night, and I did it because our reputations here depend very largely on what the newspapers say. I asked them how it was that you might take two men who on the whole were of about the same abilities and same influence in this House and in the Senate and they were always exploiting one of them and never exploiting the other. I said that I had no reason to complain, because I thought I had had my full share of exploitation. At first they denied the proposition. They said it was not true. Then I gave them a few samples that had fallen under my own observation; and at last they gave this answer: That they supposed it must be true; that one man's style of speaking was epigrammatic or anecdotal; they could take an extract from that speech and make good reading news of it, while another man might make an equally good speech for the purposes of legislation, but it was one they could not treat that way. And they came to the conclusion that that is really the reason why some Members of the House and some Senators always figure in the newspapers, while some others of equal capacity and of equal influence scarcely appear in them at all.

Early impressions are never effaced. My father was an enthusiast touching phrenology and physiognomy. He was an omniverous reader, and among the periodicals in which he delighted and which he recommended to me as mental pabulum in my youth was the *Phrenological Journal*, published by Fowler & Wells. My favorite teacher in the common schools

was a professional phrenologist. With such early guides it was inevitable that I should all my days be a student of the human face divine. It is a most fascinating recreation. While I have long since abandoned the theory that one may determine what is on the inside of a man's head by feeling the bumps on the outside, I still adhere to the belief that there is much in both phrenology and physiognomy. God writes a man's character and capacity in his face. To some his handwriting is perfectly legible; to others it is an inscrutable mystery. Alexander Pope uttered an important truth when he said:

The proper study of mankind is man.

Some men are so ugly and ungainly that it is a positive advantage to them as public speakers by reason of the pleasurable surprise which their eloquence or logic or learning excites in their hearers. Others are so prepossessing that they have won the hearts of their audience before they have opened their mouths. To this latter category Senator GORMAN undoubtedly belonged. For some occult psychological reason we never or rarely speak of manly beauty. By common consent and immemorial custom we use the word "beautiful" as descriptive of the females of our race. In the case of males we substitute the word "handsome." Senator GORMAN was the handsomest man of his time. In my goings to and fro I have seen only two as handsome—Gen. John Cabell Breckenridge, who was Vice-President and who in all probability would have been President of the Republic but for the war between the States, and John Henry Neville, my professor of Greek at Kentucky University, who divided all mankind into Greeks and barbarians. To look upon the countenance of any of this distinguished trio was a feast for the eyes.

With the dead there is no rivalry; hence I can say these

things without offense. Proof conclusive of Senator GORMAN's handsomeness is this: In Washington there is a company whose chief business is the making of cuts to illustrate newspapers, magazines, periodicals, and books. For the purpose of advertising its work it always sends out cuts of the superb head and face of Senator GORMAN.

His cast of features was Greek—such as Phidias would have delighted to commemorate in marble and Apelles to reproduce on canvass. His intellect possessed all the subtlety of the Greek mind in the palmy days of the Athenian philosophers.

Of moderns, he resembled Talleyrand rather than Napoleon. He was a diplomatist of the highest order—a most skillful manager of men—the most consummate parliamentary leader of his generation. Others excelled him in eloquence, in learning, in debating ability, and in power of repartee, but in strategy he overtopped them all. To him is peculiarly applicable the old Latin dictum, "Suaviter in modo, fortiter, in re." To use an expression homely but full of meaning, he "took things by the smooth handle."

He rose to the leadership of the Senate Democrats not by self-seeking, but by reason of his universally acknowledged fitness for that high and onerous position.

His defeat of the Lodge "force bill" must ever be regarded as one of the most brilliant victories achieved by any minority leader in the history of Congress. It so endeared him to the southern people that they would have gladly made him President, though they differed with him on more than one important matter of policy; and the chances are that he would have won that distinction, the ne plus ultra of human ambition, had he been en rapport with the Democracy of the West on the tariff and financial questions. It is generally believed that he threw away the Presidency at Chicago in 1892 by refusing to

permit his friends to make a fight for him. No adequate explanation of his refusal has ever been vouchsafed to us—perhaps never will be.

Outside the Senate his masterpiece was the successful management of the Presidential campaign of 1884. It was a most brilliant performance and entitles him to a place in the very front rank of American political leaders. There is little doubt that had he been chairman of the national committee in 1888 Grover Cleveland would have been reelected and the current of our history changed for years—it may be forever. Whether, on the whole, the history of our country for the last nineteen years would be more pleasant to contemplate is a question about which men will differ and which I will not argue on this occasion; but surely it is not inapropos or in bad taste to say that had Cleveland been reelected in 1888 two momentous subsequent events would not have happened—the passage of the McKinley tariff bill and the election of William McKinley to the Presidency—for it must be clear to the philosophical student of our history that while the McKinley tariff law, assisted by a gerrymander of Ohio, eliminated McKinley from Congress, the same causes made him governor twice and sent him to the White House for two terms. It is altogether probable that McKinley was greatly cast down by his defeat for Congress in 1890. If so, when he delivered his optimistic second inaugural address, March 4, 1901, if he gave any thought to that defeat, he must have clearly realized the truth of the old saying that “seeming calamities are sometimes blessings in disguise.”

First and last there has been much philosophizing as to how frequently in this world great events hinge upon small ones—so small, in fact, as to appear trifles light as air. In one of the finest passages in his delightful lectures on the “Four

Georges"—and there is no nobler prose in our vernacular—William Makepiece Thackeray tells how in 1715 James Stuart failed to gain the Three Kingdoms because certain of his adherents who were to escalate Edinburgh Castle stopped to drink his health in a tavern in Edinburgh town and arrived two hours too late at the rendezvous under the castle walls.

So it may be said that but for the Cleveland-Gorman feud Cleveland might have been reelected in 1888; Democratic policies might have been put in force; Cleveland would not have been reelected in 1892, for Democrats are unalterably opposed to a third term for any man; and if Democratic policies had proved acceptable, we would have conducted the affairs of the Republic for many years. Who was to blame for the quarrel betwixt those two conspicuous men, so unlike in mind, method, training, and careers, I am not trying to settle now—it would be out of place; but I most heartily commend it to the historian of our times as the turning point in our politics ever since and perhaps for decades yet to come. I hope, however, that I may be pardoned this comment—that to think of what has been and then what might have been is enough to make a Democrat sick at heart.

MR. GORMAN was a protégé of Stephen A. Douglas and took his first political lessons out of the book of that remarkable man. It is strictly within the bounds of truth to say that the pupil was worthy of the master. Both led their party in the Senate in stirring times, and each narrowly missed the highest political honor when it seemed almost within his grasp.

If Senator GORMAN ever experienced any disappointment or felt any bitterness because of his failure to reach the Presidency, he gave no sign, but went on serenely, courteously, and with dignity until the final summons came.

ADDRESS OF MR. SMITH, OF MARYLAND

MR. SPEAKER: The career of the late Senator GORMAN in its historical and biographical aspects has been dwelt upon ably and in detail in both Houses of Congress yesterday and to-day, and he occupied such a large place in the National Legislature and was so intimately connected with many great events during his long service at the Capitol, which, with his part therein, will go down in American history, that it is neither necessary nor desirable for me to refer even in the briefest way to what he was and did as a Senator of the United States.

As a Representative from Maryland I rise here to pay a feeble tribute to his memory, impelled by the knowledge that the people of my district wish me upon this sad occasion to join in recalling the virtues of the dead, and this tribute, inadequate as it is, is an expression, too, of the personal sorrow of one who was proud to possess the friendship of that son of Maryland whose vacant seat in the Senate echoed the vacancy in the hearts of his people.

Measured by his accomplishments in the other end of the Capitol, Mr. GORMAN'S name will stand high upon the roll of Maryland Senators. It was his good fortune that the best part of his public life was cast in a period when the work at hand was fitted to his eminent abilities, to his shrewdness in debate, his wisdom in council, and his unrivaled political generalship. It is these qualities for which he will be remembered, and his usefulness in the Senate and to the country as a statesman of well-poised and practical talents, a usefulness so long and so widely recognized, can never fade from the record of American national legislation.

Industry and self-reliance were distinguishing traits of the page whose patron was Douglas as they were of the Senator when he had gained the same heights upon which the figure of Douglas had been the object of his boyish admiration. All through his life Mr. GORMAN was a hard worker, and in the earlier portion of it largely dependent upon his own efforts and capabilities, and from this viewpoint his career teaches with silent force the lesson of the cardinal characteristics which have always been the root of the development and perfecting of the individual in our American leaders.

Mr. GORMAN was a lovable man, as thousands can testify, and the man as he was known in yonder Senate was the same man as he was known in the lowliest walks of life. In personal intercourse he was kindly and generous, and amid all the disillusionments and sometimes sordid scenes of political strife which, more than most men, it was his lot to encounter he still preserved a gentle and winning manner and a sweetness of temper which endeared him to his friends and acquaintances and shed a beneficent influence upon all with whom he came in contact. We, with many others, have seen and wondered at the composure, the grave courtesy, the kindliness of speech and of thought and of action which, whether in public gatherings, friendly or otherwise, or in the shelter of our homes and his, charmed and soothed.

In the varied private relations of life, in that environment where one is really tested as to true and unshaded character, Mr. GORMAN uniformly exhibited, and to a very marked degree, all the virtues which bless the spheres of family and friendship.

His mortal body is hidden forever from our sight by the grave, but from its darkness and silence blooms, and will forever bloom for us, the memory of his goodness, of his greatness, and of his patriotism.

ADDRESS OF MR. LIVINGSTON, OF GEORGIA

MR. SPEAKER: Senator GORMAN was, in common parlance, a self-made man. He had, by long contact with public men and public affairs, an extensive knowledge of men and things. This knowledge, with his splendid endowment of common sense, his unflinching integrity, his sympathy for all, his gentleness and innate modesty, qualified him for the duties of life, whether to the State or to society, and made him a very popular citizen and official and a beloved husband and father. To know him was to love him. His official life has been largely dwelt upon in these services, both here and in the Senate. He was an official conservative, safe, and successful, hence his designation as a leader in the Senate and his political party as well as his fast hold upon his people in his native State. But for his modesty or lack of aggressiveness he would have headed the ticket for President as a representative of the national Democratic party. He was an old-fashioned Democrat, without the taint of many new-fangled notions called "principles," so common at this day. He certainly held that the Government was by the people, from the people, and for the people—a simple Democrat. His counsel and advice were sought and utilized by the leaders in his political party generally, and on more than one occasion when his counsel was not followed came defeat. He was a manly man, and, indeed, when he fell asleep a great man had fallen—great in his party, great in his official position as a Senator, great, in the broad sense, as a citizen of this great and growing country, and while we can no longer look upon his pleasant and cheerful face nor seek his counsel or leadership, yet his works, his words, and life are left us that we may in coming generations admire and follow in his footsteps.

ADDRESS OF MR. CLAYTON, OF ALABAMA

MR. SPEAKER: Two reasons constrain me to say something on this occasion. First, the obligation, the debt of gratitude, that the people of Alabama owe Senator GORMAN for his valuable services in more than one instance during the last thirty years in various political conflicts in that State, involving, as the white people there believed then and now believe, the maintenance of Christian civilization itself. Senator GORMAN on repeated occasions lent to us his counsel and his wisdom, and in other ways gave to us a helping hand in our hours of darkness and trial.

Again, Mr. Speaker, I am constrained to say something because of my unqualified respect and great admiration for the man. I first came to know Senator GORMAN at the national convention at St. Louis in 1888, when Mr. Cleveland was nominated for the second time. From that day to this, in every national campaign, I came into contact with Senator GORMAN, and met him officially and socially upon my advent here ten years ago.

I think I knew the man as he was, and I believe that if he had adopted a Latin motto it would have been "*esse quam videri*," for to me he was always what he seemed to be. Mr. GORMAN was not a self-seeker; he rarely ever thrust his advice upon others; he was modest; he was retiring; yet he was ready and willing to advise, and ready and willing to do when called upon. That he was modest is perhaps best attested by the modest biography written in the Congressional Directory. There is not one line of self-laudation, there is not

one claim in there that he did anything worthy of praise, and his life was full of meritorious conduct. Those who served with him in the Senate, and those in the House who knew him, have testified to the number of conspicuous, brilliant, and useful things that he did, and yet in his modest biographical sketch he makes no mention of any of them. The mere achievements, the mere political honors that came to him, are stated in their chronological order. With that he contents himself.

I shall not speak at length of his services to the country, but I was glad to see that in reading the account of the proceedings in the Senate on yesterday some measure of justice has been done to Senator GORMAN, even in this late day, in regard to what his position is alleged to have been in reference to the Wilson-Gorman bill. The error became broadcast, and it still survives to some extent, that Mr. GORMAN took the Wilson bill after it had reached the Senate and emasculated it, added to it, and struck out, so that it met the condemnation of the Chief Executive. The facts are, as testified to by his colleagues, that when the Senate Democratic caucus or conference was held, Mr. GORMAN presiding, the first man to denounce any schedule or any part of the Wilson-Gorman bill was a southern Senator who denounced the sugar schedule of that measure. The next Senator to denounce any schedule in that bill was a Senator from my own State, denouncing the coal and iron schedule. I shall not go into a discussion of the reasons that animated these Senators. I merely cite this fact to show that Senator GORMAN should not be anathematized for anything that was done or attempted to be done with the Wilson-Gorman bill. Senator GORMAN occupied the unique position of trying to harmonize the different views of his Democratic colleagues, in order that there might be a bill agreed upon and some legislation had.

And the bill as passed represented, as I understand it, not the individual opinion of Senator GORMAN, but it was the result of the attempt to harmonize the different views of the members of the dominant party in the Senate.

It is to be noted, Mr. Speaker, in viewing the history of the Democratic party, that it has triumphed but twice since the great civil war, and ARTHUR P. GORMAN had more to do with shaping the forces and with the management of the campaign that led to the first of these triumphs than any other man; and, in my judgment, he did as much as, if not more, in the other successful campaign than perhaps any other man. I recall that in one memorable campaign, when the party was bold and aggressive, that some of the leaders of the party discountenanced the idea that Mr. GORMAN should be prominent in the party councils and in its leadership in that campaign. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that if the management of the campaign of 1896 had been put in the hands of ARTHUR P. GORMAN, skillful and able and experienced as he was, and less skillful and less experienced as was the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Hanna, that victory would have perched upon the Democratic banner.

The personal appearance of Senator GORMAN was not only distinguished, but handsome. His face was classical, intellectual, and attractive. It was as clear-cut and as beautiful as a cameo. He was manly in his bearing, yet modest and courteous and considerate of all of his fellows.

While Mr. GORMAN has gone to that

Country from whose bourn
No traveler returns,

yet he has indelibly impressed himself upon the pages of the history of his country; and from the study of the life of this great man the youth of our country may draw hope and

encouragement, however humble or poor they may be, or how-ever circumscribed are their environments. For from a poor boy of limited education he became the leader of his party in his State and in the nation.

I learned to respect, I learned to admire him; and I share with all of his former associates the universal regret at his untimely departure.

ADDRESS OF MR. TOWNE, OF NEW YORK

MR. SPEAKER: I am profoundly grateful for the opportunity of participating in the tribute which this House, in obedience to an ancient and honorable custom, to-day pays to the memory of the distinguished late Senator from Maryland. I had not the opportunity of quite so close and long association with the late Senator GORMAN in public life as had some of those gentlemen who have already participated in this commemoration. But I enjoyed for a number of years the honor of a close personal acquaintance with him, and I received from him so many proofs of regard and confidence that this occasion has for me the sanction of a privilege as well as of a duty. Unfortunately, it has not been possible for me, in the rush of other duties, to make that preparation for this occasion which its solemnity and interest and my own inclination impart to it, but fortunately that is a lack that will not be felt.

The addresses that are to be and that have already been made here this afternoon will more than supplement any imperfection in what I myself might say. I have been particularly instructed and interested by the illuminating address of the distinguished gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Clark], who never touches with deliberation anything that he does not ornament, and I can subscribe most heartily to the verdict he has given on the personality, the genius, and the public services of our distinguished friend.

Personally, as others have testified, and as everybody who knew him well must testify, Senator GORMAN was a man of most delightful manners. Pleasure always shown upon his face when he met a friend. He was sincere, democratic, modest,

with a real and not affected dignity. He always bore himself with that nice equipoise appropriate at once to the genial friend and the occupant of exalted public station. In respect of those qualities which gave him his influence among men perhaps it may be well to specify as chief among all his sincerity, his absolute reliability. His word could always be depended upon wherever he gave it under circumstance that made it possible of performance.

He believed thoroughly in the importance of duties and functions of the legislative branch of the Government. He took his official oath seriously. There have been few so strenuous and able defenders of the prerogatives of the Senate and of the independence of the legislative department of the Government as Senator GORMAN was. He knew that the practical work of legislation every day during a session of Congress demands the careful scrutiny of those who are responsible for it, a scrutiny which must always be bestowed by somebody upon the course of procedure in either body, but which seldom rewards the assiduity and attention of the conscientious legislator with anything beyond that consciousness of duty well performed, which is, perhaps, after all, the chief reward for the doing of any good thing.

In debate Senator GORMAN's mastery of the subject-matter; his skill in dialectic; his direct, succinct method of statement; his interesting and captivating voice and presence, made him an ally to be valued and an opponent to be feared. His equipment for legislative work was considerable, although not so fully rounded as might have been the case had he early enjoyed wider academic opportunities. His experience in minor positions in the service of the Senate, his acquaintance with the great political leaders of his time, the earnestness with which he early threw himself into the political activities of his party,

his great memory, his natural logical power of classification and influence, equipped him for the purpose of enforcing policies and securing legislation as few contemporaries were equipped.

His style was direct and forcible. The distinguished gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Clark] has submitted some observations, of characteristic force and interest, upon the subject of oratory, a word that in my judgment is often misapplied. I have known many excellent speakers, but very few orators, and still fewer great orators. Senator GORMAN perhaps never could have been a great orator. Temperamentally he had not that power of self-infusion into his subject, that magnetism, that compelling force which characterizes masters of the art of persuasion.

But in power of statement, in knowledge of what his auditor ought to hear, in ability to state it so that his auditor could not fail to understand it, and in so relating the parts of his discourse as to make them converge to the conclusion that he desired, he was a man possessed of very considerable art, no small part of the art of oratory. Referring now to temperamental characteristics, and recognizing fully the difference between the two men, his method was more like that of Alexander Hamilton than, let us say, like that of Patrick Henry. His effect was the effect of the reason rather than of the imagination. His appeal was to the judgment rather than to the feelings. The very highest oratory, of course, embraces both. It is very seldom that a man possesses both structural capacity and ornamental power. Like great architecture, true oratory is at once structural and beautiful. When it is fundamentally structural with its beauty incident to its structure, it then approaches to the perfection which we find illustrated in very few of the greatest masters, like Demosthenes and Daniel Webster. It certainly is no impugment of a man that he did not reach, as a parlia-

mentary debater, the stature of the highest examples in that kind; but as a practical legislative leader, as a manager and a tactician, it is altogether probable that we have not seen among his contemporaries in either branch of the National Congress the equal of the distinguished Senator from Maryland.

As a leader in the field of general politics in the country he was a man eminent for his tact, for his understanding of the political situation in every quarter of the Republic, for his ability to marshal his forces and use them, and above all, according to my own observation and judgment, for that peculiar capacity that has distinguished only really great men, of discounting temporary misinformation, of declining to be guided by momentary caprice or misled by the hasty conclusions of subordinates, particularly when of a startling or an alarming character. Emerson has somewhere spoken of the necessity and importance of learning what the hours are saying to the centuries; and oftentimes a man whose ears are filled with the hubbub of controversy in his immediate vicinity forgets the larger lessons of time and, moved by a local disturbance, may wreck principles of national extent. Senator GORMAN was a man who was never flushed by rumor, who never lost his head. When others were dismayed, he was invariably his own master, calm, cool, collected, and resourceful, able to apply all the lessons of his accumulated valuable experience to the immediate problem of a pressing emergency; one of the greatest qualifications for political leadership that a man can have.

Others have spoken and this relieves me from the necessity of doing so at any length, Mr. Speaker, of the connection of Senator GORMAN with certain specific acts of legislation. Attention has been properly called to the great patriotic service he performed in that long contest, demanding a greater exer-

cise of political sagacity, tact, and strategy than perhaps any other parliamentary fight in our own or any other legislative history, by which the "force bill," as it has been properly called, was finally defeated—a service in which, I believe, the dominant opinion of the country to-day approves the feeling with which the South at the time greeted this tremendous victory.

Reference has been made also to the tariff legislation in which Senator GORMAN took so active a part. I happen to know the Senator's convictions upon the general subject of the tariff. I have no sort of sympathy with that criticism which represents Senator GORMAN as a sort of Mephistopheles or Richelieu, who pretended to favor one thing while he intended to do another. His views upon the tariff question were never disguised in any particular. He never claimed to be a free trader, but openly avowed his belief that we can not frame a tariff system based upon the language of the general-welfare clause of the Constitution, but that such incidental protection as the imposition of duties gives to the industries of the country is strictly appurtenant to the revenue power.

The contention was that the statesman must consider conditions as they exist at the time of his legislation. He was a very practical man. He was not for an instant a slave to a priori or doctrinaire abstractions. He set to work to frame a bill which should raise an adequate revenue without disturbing American industries. Senator GORMAN was a diplomat. It is true that he was not in the habit of issuing proclamations announcing what he was about to do. He never went about his business, when it was important business, heralded by a brass band. But there is a good deal of difference, Mr. Speaker, between reticence as to what your purposes are and pretense as to what they are not. Mr. GORMAN'S part in the

long-continued deliberations which resulted in 1894 in the enactment of the Wilson-Gorman law has been generally recognized. But he had scarcely less share in the enactment of the interstate-commerce law of 1887, the pioneer legislation on a subject that has recently enjoyed so large a share of the attention of the Government.

Senator GORMAN has frequently been represented as the opposite to the idealist, as a man intensely materialistic and given to considerations of expediency rather than of fidelity to abstract principles. I have in mind many illustrations to show that this is a complete misconception of his character. He was an intensely practical man and believed that legislation is a practical business. His disposition was to get what he could, and when he could not get what he thought he ought to have, he compromised and got all he could. But he would not compromise a principle. I have in mind as an illustration of this phase of his character and habit what occurred comparatively recently in regard to the Panama Canal. Senator GORMAN realized as vividly as anybody could realize what the commercial interest of the South was in having an interoceanic canal, but he did not approve the method whereby the Panama route was adopted and finally secured. I hope it is not against the proprieties of this occasion for me to say that I do not believe any Democrat will blame Senator GORMAN for taking his stand in defense of the old principles of the Democratic party as against yielding to what seemed a commercial advantage to the Southern States. I have always honored him for his attitude at this juncture, and I believe that a very large measure of praise will ultimately be given to him when the history of this proposition comes to be written.

It is true, Mr. Speaker, that this great man, like all other men of force in affairs long prominent in the public eye, in

intimate association with great events in the history of their country, encountered much and bitter criticism. He did not, indeed, object to criticism, honest criticism. He welcomed it. No public man shrinks from honest criticism. He must be always ready to render an account to his fellow-citizens and to the judgment of posterity for his acts, and he must expect that his character and his deeds will pass under the scrutiny of men who do not agree with him and who will willingly find nothing to comment on to his advantage.

But, sir, it is, to my mind, a most sorrowful thing that another kind of criticism spent its fury upon the head of the uncomplaining Senator from Maryland in the last hours of his life. The snarls and cries of ghouls and jackals mingled with the sounds of the clods that fell upon his coffin. The function of the muck-raker, Mr. Speaker, is, properly speaking, not one of criticism at all. It is frankly one of pessimism, of spite, of hatred, of elemental, savage, indiscriminate cruelty.

Nothing could better illustrate the extent to which the public judgment may be temporarily demoralized than that the opinions of so many earnest and honest men should be swayed by the mercenary rhetoric of certain brilliant but perverted minds in the service of splenetic disappointment, groveling jealousy, and vengeful degeneracy, displayed in assaults upon the characters of public men, wherein a devilish artificer seeks by one grain of truth to give color to a whole ocean of inference and allegation. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that the time is at hand when we may hope to derive some public good from this calamity. Nearly every wrong bears in it the seeds of its own correction. I believe the pendulum is about to swing the other way. I believe the people of the United States are losing patience with this tendency gratuitously to impute to public men the very worst motives of which their conduct is

susceptible as the result of the most ingenious misconstruction, and to picture practically every Member of both bodies of the American Congress as the secret, willing, and corrupted tool of interests opposed to the public welfare. As I leave public life myself, sir, I am glad to welcome for those who remain a better condition of public sentiment in this respect.

I do not know, Mr. Speaker, what the opinions of Senator GORMAN were touching the great issues of the hereafter. I do know, I think, that whatever they were they were sincerely and fearlessly entertained, and that, as was the case with every other problem that I ever knew to present itself to his mind, he had adjusted himself to a solution that was satisfactory to himself. For myself I believe as devoutly as it is possible for me to believe anything that the soul of the great Senator from Maryland, untrammelled by the necessities and the influences of its temple of mortality, is to-day free, somewhere in this great universe, to proceed upon its unimpeded pathway of illimitable development. I can not look upon the history of things as we see them recorded in geology, in the science of anthropology, and in the development of human institutions without being convinced profoundly, sir, that all that religion reveals and all that science ascertains are absolutely in harmony in the demonstration of this great probability (for, in the nature of things, until some traveler comes back from that bourne whence none has ever yet returned we can not have absolute knowledge) that, whereas the earlier reaches of time were devoted to the evolution of the human body; and whereas, next in importance, the human mind absorbed the energies of evolutionary force; and whereas, finally, in the growth of altruism, and in the realization of the brotherhood of man, there began to expand the limitless possibilities of the human soul, the third and crowning consummation in the long process of

evolutional progress; and whereas conditions here on earth for so little a time are so adverse to the development and perfection of those high capacities, it is a reasonable, if not a necessary, conclusion, to which science as well as religion points, that there must be reserved, in the stretches of time succeeding this mortal existence, an opportunity for the perfection of that highest achievement of the processes of creation, the human soul.

And so to-day, as I pay my tribute of love and reverence to the memory of my great and departed friend, it is not as one who sorrows utterly, but as one who looks forward with a faith that is absolute to the time when he and all of us, beyond the trials and tribulations of mere mortality, shall be still employed in working out the ultimate purposes of that Divine Intelligence that created everything.

ADDRESS OF MR. BYRD, OF MISSISSIPPI

MR. SPEAKER: More than half a century ago there might have been seen a bright-eyed, promising youth darting through the halls of this Capitol, doing the errands of a page. This boy was ARTHUR PEE GORMAN.

Born of a splendid Scotch-Irish parentage almost under the shadow of this historic building, and having come in personal contact with nearly all the great political leaders from Henry Clay to those who now move about us, and having been blessed by nature with a strong, incisive intellect and a winning personality, and having acquired reasonable educational advantages, how could he have become less great?

He spent his boyhood days in the atmosphere of eloquence and statesmanship; the thundering eloquence of Webster expounding the Constitution and the scathing logic of the gifted Calhoun, defending States rights, was still ringing in the ears of those who moved about him in his earliest boyhood days.

At the age of 14 he was appointed a page in the United States Senate. The venerable Clay was still there. Sumner and Seward were just rising in their transcendent intellectual glory. Judah P. Benjamin, William L. Yancey, and Robert Toombs were among his daily preceptors. Stephen A. Douglas, the little giant of the West, was his personal friend and great benefactor. Doubtless from this fiery, brilliant Democrat young GORMAN acquired many of his successful traits of political character. In his maturer years he was the companion and compatriot of Lamar, Benjamin H. Hill, Randall, Conkling, Blaine, and Garfield, the sublimest aggregation of forensic intellectuality ever produced by any age or country. These great

national characters were the associates of the late Senator GORMAN from his boyhood days to the period when he reached the vigor of full manhood, and he seemed to have imbibed their successful traits of character without embracing their follies. In the course of time he became a parliamentary leader superior to either of them. If Robert E. Lee was the greatest military leader of the South, it can likewise be said that the late Senator GORMAN was her greatest parliamentarian and political leader. He had the power of leading his party to victory even in the face of almost certain defeat. He never surrendered, however impending the danger or however meager the chances of success.

His career scintillates with success at every turning point—always being equal to any emergency. His life was a continuous scene of successful progression from boyhood up. After serving as a page in the Senate he was made postmaster of that body; then internal-revenue collector for the Fifth district of Maryland; then a member and speaker of the Maryland house of delegates; then, in 1880, at the age of 41, he entered the greatest forum in the world, the United States Senate. In that body he soon rose to the leadership of his party, and after three successive terms he was succeeded in the Senate by another, though in 1903, at the very next turn of the political wheel in his native State, he was returned to the Senate and, by the unanimous consent of his Democratic colleagues, was restored to the leadership of his party—a tribute won by his merit and conferred in a spirit of chivalry.

Mr. Speaker, many, many years will come and go ere the South will cease to revere the memory of this great man. In 1891, when this House, under the leadership of the iron and irrepressible Reed, passed and sent to the Senate the Federal election bill—commonly known as the "force bill"—the last

attempted infamy of reconstruction, the bravest of our Southern statesmen despaired before the impending doom. In that fair section business was paralyzed; the throb of industry was hushed; the plowshare was left standing in the unbroken fields, and the spectral horrors of reconstruction again haunted every hamlet.

Chilled was the blood of many a brave man and fair woman at the contemplation of the cruelties of Federal bayonets and African misrule. It seemed as though the last remaining vestige of States rights and civil liberty surviving the late civil war was about to be extinguished. At its crisis the South appealed to the fair and the just of every section. Many southern leaders seemed helpless and hopeless in the face of the overwhelming partisan opposition in the Senate. Not so with Senator GORMAN. He had an intuitive conviction of the justice of the cause and was sustained by an unflinching moral courage, the indispensable virtue in every successful leader. He was bold, yet prudent; active, yet patient; unyielding, yet conservative, watchful, and, above all things, as brave as the bravest. Unlike some other leaders he took but little part in the great debate. He acted while others talked. In this respect he more nearly approximated Parnell, the great Irish patriot and leader, than any other modern statesman. Like all great leaders, Parnell summoned to his aid his greatest lieutenants to do his talking while he acted and worked. In this regard Senator GORMAN might indeed truly have been called the Moses of the Senate, while his colleagues were its Aarons.

When the forensic battle over the force bill was raging in the Senate and when the high tide of partisan denunciation had been reached, he was not disturbed, but remained cool, deliberate, and calculating. In the wild scenes of that august body it appeared that in him "Reason held the helm, while pas-

sion blew the gale." Like his great military prototype, Stonewall Jackson, who often, in the midst of the wild carnage of battle, would silently and quietly search about the ranks of the enemy for a more vulnerable point of assault, so Senator GORMAN, in the midst of the fray, reconnoitered the enemy's position, observing a weak point here and the stronghold there, and never failed to take prompt advantage of every position assailable. His superb parliamentary tactics and leadership thwarted all the well-laid plans of the Senate majority, and when the smoke of battle had cleared away the victory was his; the force bill was relegated to oblivion and the country was free.

Mr. Speaker, in the same grave where slumbers this attempted political usurpation is buried sectional hatred. The gulf of malice that so long existed between the North and South has closed forever. The sections are united in all the ties that inspire national greatness; the people have learned to know each other better and to love each other more. Now we have a great common country, a homogeneous people with kindred hopes and united aspirations. We are like the ancient States of Greece, each Commonwealth a kingdom unto itself, yet contending each with the other in sacrifices for the good of the common country.

The death of the force bill was the birth of southern prosperity. England's greatest historian tells us that in five years after the wars of Cromwell, that involved every English family and every foot of her soil, the people were restored to their normal prosperity, but it was forty years after the termination of the late civil war before the South could realize a throbbing pulse of increasing prosperity. That which the ravages of war left was prostrated and paralyzed by the infamy of reconstruction, but these gloomy days have passed, and the South is now on the high road to prosperity. Upon the death of the force

bill commenced an increasing wave of industrial development and onward it has rolled until the wealth and industrial effort of that long-paralyzed section have many times multiplied. The energies, the aspirations of a great people long stupefied by the cruel apprehensions of African misrule, have been diverted into channels of industrial endeavor. Home rule and local self-government have been vouchsafed to the people of that section; northern capital, like the rivers into the sea, has been flowing into that section from every quarter of the Union. Many noble and good people of the North and West are seeking homes in the sunny South, and they are always received with welcome and soon become thoroughly assimilated to our social and political conditions.

The throb of the engine, the whirl of the spindle, the ring of the hammer may now be heard in every hamlet of the South; and the bursting granary, the contented negro in the snow-white cotton fields, the screaming locomotive, the romping children, the lullaby of the "housewife, plying her evening care," all bespeak peace and industrial contentment. Too, they proclaim a eulogium of the deeds and virtues of the great departed Senator more eloquent than human tongue can utter. He has erected a monument in the hearts of millions that will chant his praises along the corridors of time. The monumental shaft, so high as to pierce the thunder's home and more lasting than brass, does not endure like the inscription of gratitude upon the tablet of the human heart. The heroism of Leonidas is still fresh and green in the memory of the liberty-loving world, while the scorpion has long been hiding in the ruins of monumental Greece. Emmet's martyrdom to liberty, though without a stone carved to his memory, will be remembered as long as Erin's blood flows in mortal veins. So the memory of this great tribune of the people will not vanish with

passing years. Coming generations will do him honor and hold up his superb life as worthy of emulation by their aspiring sons.

But the defeat of the force bill was not the only public service rendered by Senator GORMAN worthy of consideration. It will be remembered that when the Paris treaty, by which we acquired the Philippines, was sent to the Senate, he, as the leader of the minority in that body, at once marshaled his forces to defeat its ratification, and many believe that he would have succeeded but for the intermeddling and intervention of others high in the counsels of the Democratic party. He believed that the imperialistic policy of the party in power was in contravention of the spirit and the letter of the Constitution and that it would ultimately breed disastrous consequences. How ominously prophetic was his wisdom when viewed in the light of the fact that this colonial pet has cost the Government \$700,000,000 and the lives of thousands of brave and gallant soldiers. This great sacrifice has been made without any benefit whatever to our Government. The blood of the gallant Lawton cries out in condemnation of this infamous policy. At this very hour every wind that blows from the Pacific brings forebodings of war with Japan, and should it come, the wisdom of the great Senator will be doubly verified. In the future may we profit by his wisdom and at the very first opportunity pass this bitter cup to more congenial lips.

Like all truly great men, Senator GORMAN did not exhaust all his virtues in the public arena, but his character was equally sublime in private life. In his domestic relations he was loving, true, gentle, and kind. He loved his home, his people, and his God. He was charitable to the poor and without envy of the rich. The ragged newsboy and the hard-pressed laborer could always reach his manly heart. His

generous charity and kind words waked "to ecstasy" the slumbering ambition of many a forlorn youth. Not until the scrolls of eternity are unfolded will the full measure of his benedictions to humanity be realized.

But his manly voice is silent. The eagle that long soared about the mountain's peak has been stricken to earth. Death, the antithesis of life, the avenger of all, the respecter of none, the grim messenger from—we know not where—with icy finger touched his heart and bade it be still. His majestic life, studded with the golden gems of love, charity, and patriotism proclaims that he went to his grave with an unfaltering trust in the promise of the new life flashed from Calvary's brow. He is not dead, but has simply passed the gateway of death from the scenes of his usefulness to the realms of his God.

There is no death! what seems so is transition;

This life of mortal breath

Is but a suburb of the life Elysian,

Whose portal we call Death.

ADDRESS OF MR. GOULDEN, OF NEW YORK

MR. SPEAKER: Having known the late Senator ARTHUR PUE GORMAN for many years, and as my forefathers for more than two centuries claimed Maryland as their home, I feel it a duty to add a few words to the memory of one of the leading sons of that grand old Commonwealth.

The soil of that State is sacred to me, as it holds the dust of seven generations of my family, and some day will be my own last peaceful resting place.

Proud as I am of the achievements of the long line of illustrious men of the State, I should feel recreant to duty and false to the name and character of my ancestors if I did not say something on this occasion.

Senator GORMAN was a worthy son of whom all the people of Maryland are justly proud. He left his impress for good, not alone on his native State, but upon the nation as well.

As is usual with great men in all ages, he was frequently misunderstood and his motives misconstrued. Those who knew him best loved him for his sterling character, for his warm, generous heart, his kind, loving disposition, his splendid family relations, as well as for his firm and unswerving loyalty to duty. In all walks of life, even by his political foes, he was respected and admired. His character, both private and public, was above suspicion, and his patriotism of that high order that should characterize every true American citizen.

As has been so ably and eloquently said by the many distinguished speakers who have preceded me, he was one of nature's noblemen, a man of whom the entire country may well feel a just and honorable pride; one whose memory will ever fondly

be cherished. The people of the nation claim him as one of America's great men, and his life and work belong to them as well as to the State of Maryland.

We honor ourselves and the patriotic people of the country by meeting here to-day to show our respect, love, and admiration for the life and achievements of our departed friend, Senator ARTHUR PUE GORMAN. The magnificent tribute paid his memory by the Speaker of this House to-day was from one who knew him well.

The sentiments found a warm response in the hearts of all who had the honor of hearing his beautiful words to the memory of Senator GORMAN. As an humble friend and warm admirer of this leading son of Maryland, I place this simple wreath to his memory.

ADDRESS OF MR. GILL, OF MARYLAND

MR. SPEAKER: At the outset of my remarks on this solemn occasion, I must frankly confess that I have always entertained a dislike for memorial proceedings of this character, and for that reason have always heretofore declined to participate in them. But I have been so deeply impressed by the eulogies on the late Senator from Maryland, so feelingly and impressively pronounced in the Senate yesterday, that my prejudices on this subject have been very much modified, if not altogether dissipated. The solemn proceedings in the Senate yesterday have convinced me that it is not only fitting, but essential to the formation of a just estimate of the public achievements of a man like Senator GORMAN that those who were most intimately associated with him in the work to which he devoted the best years of his life should be given an opportunity of testifying to his worth as a man and as a public servant.

My own acquaintance with the deceased Senator dates back to the time when he served his first term in the State senate of Maryland, I then being a member of the Maryland house of delegates. As he and I served on the joint committee made up of the finance committee of the senate and the ways and means committee of the house of delegates, I was afforded an excellent opportunity of learning something of the man. I was not long in discovering that even at that time he was a man of force, ability, and character.

His industry was proverbial. No detail in connection with his work was too trivial for consideration. Once having mastered the details of a proposition he was prepared to grapple

with all the difficulties that presented themselves on the subject. His knowledge of human nature and his ability to gauge those who were associated with him were marvelous. He was seldom unsuccessful in his efforts to convince his associates of the wisdom of the particular policy which he thought it well to pursue in order to bring about the enactment of such legislation as he deemed wise. The qualities which he displayed at that early period of his legislative career foreshadowed the success which in later years crowned his efforts. The rise from the position of State senator to that of United States Senator was to him a comparatively easy task. Only a short span of years intervened between his promotion to the Senate and his assumption of the leadership of the minority in that body, and with the duties of this dignified and responsible office he coupled those of leader of the national Democracy.

The achievements of the late Senator GORMAN as a member of the United States Senate have been forcefully and so eloquently portrayed in the Senate Chamber yesterday, by Republicans as well as Democrats, that it would be futile for anyone else to add anything to the eulogies which appear in the Congressional Record of to-day. That his services in the Senate had been appreciated by the great mass of the people of the State which I have the honor in part to represent in this body is demonstrated by an incident which occurred during my campaign last fall. While addressing the largest meeting held in my district, at which there were about 4,000 people present, I referred to the force bill and to the masterly qualities of leadership which Senator GORMAN displayed on that occasion, and which resulted in the defeat of that measure. At the mention of the late Senator's name there was a greater outburst of spontaneous and persistent applause than I ever heard elicited by the mention of the name of any of our distinguished citizens on similar occasions.

The conspicuous service rendered by the late Senator GORMAN in bringing about the defeat of the force bill earned for him more than the gratitude of his own State. This achievement endeared him more than any other patriotic act in his life to all the people of the South and to millions of the North who believed that the force bill was fraught with the greatest danger to the liberties of our people.

That a prophet is not without honor save in his own home is an axiom the truth of which probably no other man in public life had more reason to feel than the late Senator from Maryland. His rapid attainment of the highest honor which his State could confer upon him, while drawing to him hosts of loyal and faithful friends, who were true to him to the last, also created many enemies who leveled at him the sharpest shafts of satire and denunciation, yet all must admit that notwithstanding the obstacles that beset his path and the constant strife that waged about him he remained in the conflict to the last, only laying aside his armor and sword for the garb in which one is arrayed who starts on the journey from whence there is no return.

The future biographer and the future historian will give to ARTHUR P. GORMAN the niche in the Temple of Fame to which his public services justly entitle him.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to print in the Record the resolutions which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to have incorporated in the Record the resolutions which will now be reported by the Clerk.

The Clerk read as follows:

RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY THE DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS
JUNE 9, 1906.

The Democratic Senators at their first meeting in conference subsequent to the death of their former honored and beloved chairman, the late

Senator GORMAN, obey their unaffected impulse in the expression of their profound sorrow for his loss to them as their personal friend and their sagacious, faithful political guide in their official relations.

A faithful friend, zealous and wise party leader, considerate and conciliatory and careful of the interests of all, he greatly endeared himself to his party associates, by whom his memory will ever be most fondly cherished.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GILL. Mr. Speaker, I offer the resolutions which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Maryland offers the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Clerk of the House send a copy of the resolutions to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the House do now adjourn.



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